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PROBLEMS OF THE SPECIAL AREAS

BY SIR GEORGE GILLETT

IF the Special Areas are not nearly so much in the " news " as they were two years ago, this is partly due to the foreign situation, but also, perhaps, to the fact that some improvements have taken place in the areas since that date ; and furthermore, because the vast majority of people in the country have realized that no wholly satisfactory solution of the problem has yet been evolved. The experience of the Labour Government indicated that " relief works " would in any case only touch the fringe of the problem ; even the great re-armament programme still leaves us with not far short of two million unemployed. The solution of the problem of the " areas " is all a part of the greater problem and will only be finally solved when the larger question of how to provide work for all is answered.

Meanwhile the areas have their own special difficulties ; they suffered more than other parts of the country in the great depression because they were districts largely dependent on one or two industries, coal and iron. Ever since the great coal dispute of 1926 the coal trade has been endeavouring to recover from the injury the conflict inflicted upon it. But recovery was largely prevented by the swift developments in the use of oil, by the desire of other nations to increase and develop their own coal supplies, and, from a labour point of view, by the increased use of machinery, which is all the time making it harder for the unemployed miner to find a new job.

Unlike most industries the coal trade has developed communities of people, living often in small towns and villages, with coal as the central interest round which the life of all the inhabitants moves. Then one day the mine closes, it cannot pay its way or it is worked out, and at once the life of the community comes to a standstill. If this had happened fifty

years ago, before the unemployment insurance scheme and public assistance provided allowances on which it is possible for a man and his family to exist, the people would have been compelled to move away or starve. But now our social services just make life possible, and so on the Welsh hills, along the coast of Cumberland and in the wide open spaces of Durham are to be found these communities of men and women living their starved lives and hoping that some day the mine may re-open or work may be provided for them in some other way.

There can be no doubt whatever that in England, Wales and Scotland the work of the Commissioners' Departments during the last four years has helped in many ways to relieve the strain. When Sir Malcolm Stewart started he was quick to see not only the economic and moral effect which prolonged unemployment has on those who unfortunately suffer from it, but also the difficult position in which the local authorities were placed in carrying out the duties imposed upon them to maintain their public health services. They obviously lost much revenue and as often as not found it hard to put into effect works urgently necessary on grounds of public health. He was, therefore, able to assist local authorities by grants from the Special Areas Fund for such important duties as sewerage works, water supplies, assistance to hospitals, maternity and child welfare centres, etc., and that work has been continued, so that up to date we have paid or promised a sum exceeding £5,000,000 for this work alone.

Anyone with an intimate knowledge of the areas, and of South Wales in particular, will know how much the lives of the people in the scattered communities depend upon the social life which they themselves create. In South Wales, for example, it is well known that the churches and chapels were in times of prosperity the central point of the social life of each small community, and in this Special Area alone the churches, exclusive of the Church of Wales and the Roman Catholic Church, have debts amounting to £400,000 and find it difficult to pay the interest on those debts. It will thus be seen how much, in at least one aspect of the people's lives, prolonged unemployment has had serious effect. It has, however, been possible to assist by grants in the formation of clubs for men, women, boys and girls, in the establishment and assistance of social and educational

settlements and in providing school camps. From my own knowledge of social work in London I am convinced that the Fund has been able to give valuable help in the maintenance of morale amongst the people in these areas.

But I do not propose to dwell upon these sides of the Commissioners' work, important as they are, but rather on the larger aspects of the problems the areas have presented. The first is the question of "Location of Industry." Already, as the result of Sir Malcolm Stewart's representations, a Royal Commission has been appointed to report on this question. But events have not waited for that report, and the crisis of last September opened the eyes of many people to the folly of extending the area of Greater London in the way it has been expanding during the post-war years. The crisis has, at any rate, produced one good result—and may have done what no Government would have attempted to do, namely, stressed the need for the restriction of the growth of Greater London. When once that becomes a fact the chances of the Special Areas receiving new industries will be very much increased. Whether the Royal Commission will suggest that the Government takes powers to give it some voice in deciding where factories are to be placed it is impossible now to say, but there is another side of the problem and that concerns the right of an industry to move away from the place where it is established. In big centres like London and Birmingham the removal of even a large industry does not prejudice the whole life of a community, but in a small town it has disastrous results. Schools and hospitals and other amenities of life have been provided by the local authorities only to be left upon their hands, probably with the debts they have incurred in providing the buildings, whilst the rates the large works were paying also come to an end. On the other hand, the place to which the works are removed may be in the country, and then the local authorities are expected to provide these very facilities which have been left behind at the former place. All this can be done to-day without the community having any say in the matter, and the reason for the removal may only be because the firm think that in the new place extra profits can be made, perhaps by reduction of costs. For large industries, permission to move the works should have to be obtained from

some Government Department who should be authorized to hold a public enquiry, if objection is raised, before giving their decision. It will probably be found that the enormous strain on industry of trying to hold its own with the great dictator States, where the State exercises more and more control, will compel the smaller industries of this country to accept certain measures of State control, and amongst others it may be found desirable for the community to indicate where industrial development shall take place. This country will not be rich enough to afford the luxury of discarding towns and villages; it will have to see, when one industry passes, whether it is not possible for others to take its place before it finally pronounces its doom on a district.

As already stated, the problem of the unemployed is really a national question; pensions cannot be provided for persons living in areas of acute unemployment and be denied to unemployed, say, in London or Preston—provided pensions are considered as one way of meeting the difficulty. But the areas can provide useful information as to how the unemployed persons are standing up under the strain of long unemployment and how far our relief measures are meeting their needs. After all, measured in the life of a nation, the Unemployment Insurance Acts, and the Unemployment Assistance Board, with the relief they are providing, are fairly new ventures in our social life. Millions are expended on the relief of unemployment for which nothing is asked in return. There can be no doubt that, except in the case of an older man or a sick man, this kind of assistance can only be justified where it is being provided for a short period in order to tide a man or woman over the few weeks that may elapse between the loss of a job and the finding of another. This is the intention of the original insurance scheme, and it performs a very valuable social function.

When the weeks pass into months and then into years the problem presents a different aspect. This is what has happened to so many men in the areas, unfortunately to too many young men. From leaving school they have had little or no chance of work. Is it to be wondered at that such circumstances, in some cases, encourage slackness and lack of enterprise? The wonder rather is that in so many cases the young man surmounts the

difficulty. But it cannot be denied that circumstances are making it very hard for a lad to prevent himself drifting and becoming inclined to accept life upon the "dole." It is a factor the Government will have to face. After all, if our industry cannot carry all the workmen we have in the country, then we should attempt to see how far it is possible, first to take the older men and the unfit men out of the market, secondly to try and see how late we can make it before the young lad or girl enters industry. In the third place the increased number of women in industry requires careful consideration. The majority of industries now being introduced into the areas come under the heading of "light" industries. As such they are less susceptible to fluctuation in trade than the heavy industries on which in the past the Areas almost entirely depended, and it was therefore felt desirable to cater largely for this special class of industry. But light industries mean women and juvenile labour. In July, 1937, the Ministry of Labour published figures showing the number and percentage of males and females aged 16 to 64 years insured against unemployment in Great Britain. It is an interesting fact that the two Divisions of the country showing the lowest percentage of women's labour were Wales with 11.7% and the Northern Division with 15%, against the figure for the whole country of 27.2%. So it is clearly the right line under present circumstances to provide these new factories and estates ; even if numbers of women and juveniles are employed they are also giving work to hundreds of men.

But the crisis, if it helped us to realize the danger of a Greater London, has also shown that there is a great deal of work that requires doing. In my last report I have pointed out what useful work has been done by the schools, in the way of school camps. The money has been provided from the Commissioners' funds and in some places permanent wooden huts have been erected for the use of the children. This idea, as Lord Portal has already suggested to the Home Office, should be enlarged. Holiday resorts will be required and also, if war unfortunately should break out, accommodation for the children from London and elsewhere will be wanted. Why cannot we get some of these young unemployed men to work on these jobs ? Just as the big road contractor takes labourers about with him to do the work,

so organized groups from the Areas might be taken to construct this accommodation.

There may be other work which requires doing, for which use might well be made of the unemployed of the Areas. They should be given a chance because one of the difficulties of living for long on State assistance is that the scale cannot be other than a bare subsistence. If it is only required, as I have already stated, to carry a man over a few weeks it may be sufficient for that purpose The recipient can do without certain articles for a short time, he may buy no new clothes, but he cannot do without these things for years. That is why even temporary work is hailed with so much pleasure. For a time more money comes into the home, and some of the wants can be supplied.

Meanwhile, whatever may be done on these lines, the main work of my Department must be to build factories, develop the Trading Estates and try to induce industry to go to the Areas. Already two Trading Estates have been established. The small industrialist seeking a site for a new factory is attracted to the admirable facilities provided so freely on Estates like Trafford Park and Slough where, among other advantages, he is able to obtain suitable factory premises on lease and is perhaps repelled from the Special Areas by the lack of such facilities. Private enterprise has hitherto refrained from establishing such Estates in the Areas. Two companies, not operating for profit, have been established and financed from the Special Areas Fund to acquire suitable sites and equip them with the necessary facilities to erect buildings for letting on short lease at fair rentals ; thus there is no direct subsidy to industry. The Boards of Directors (which include a representative of the Government) serve in a voluntary capacity. It has been said by one well qualified to speak on such subjects that those responsible for a Trading Estate Company should not be unduly depressed if development is slow. It took the Trafford Park Estate many years before they were able to show results, and that Company has been nearly forty years reaching its present satisfactory position. It would, therefore, be foolish to expect immediate and spectacular results from the Estates in the Special Areas ; nevertheless the outlook is distinctly encouraging. The Team Valley Training Estate, which is 700 acres in extent

was started in June, 1936. At the moment 103 factories have been erected and tenants obtained for a further 18. On the Treforest Trading Estate, near Cardiff, which is only 300 acres in extent and was started in December, 1936, 42 factories have been built and tenants obtained for a further 15. Nearly 3,000 workers are already employed in the factories on both these Estates, and many hundreds of men have been employed, since their inception, on the development work. The West Cumberland Development Company has powers to erect factories in that area and a start has just been made with two at Maryport, one at Millom, two at Cleator and one at Whitehaven.

The North East Trading Estates Company and the South Wales Trading Estates Company also undertake on behalf of the Commissioner the erection of factories outside the Estates proper, and in the North Eastern area eight are now in production at Tynemouth, St. Helen Auckland and Sunderland. In the South Wales area sites have been cleared and factories erected at Llantarnam, Cwmbran, Cyfarthfa, Ynyswen, Porth, Pontypool and Dowlais.

It must strike any student of social affairs how unusual a thing it is for a Government Department to be carrying on active business building factories and, through its inducements, giving relief in the payment of rent, rates and taxes. Yet this is what is being done, and it corresponds with an unusual demand from men of other countries desiring to come and establish industries in this land. Probably never since the days when the Huguenots, flying from France under the persecution of Louis XIV, came and established their industries here, have we seen such an invasion. Hundreds of applications have been received by my Department, many no doubt of little value, but other cases well worthy of consideration, and already some have started work and are giving employment to British men and women. I call to mind one case of a former Austrian firm carrying on an export trade to that country which is now operating from a town in one of the Special Areas.

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So many parts of England are being spoiled to-day, that it makes one wonder what England will be like in fifty years time. When I first visited the Special Areas soon after my appointment

they seemed to suffer from some very bad eyesores. Merthyr with its terrible unemployment figures had at one end of the town the Cyfarthfa site, an untidy reminder of a great past; at the other end of the town in Dowlais were all the ruins of the Guest Keen works upon a larger area of land. Sights such as these must all add to the depression resting upon a town; certainly it had that effect upon me. I suppose if no Commissioner's Department had been in existence these ruins would still remain. But my powers allowed me to clear them, and to-day a factory is nearly finished building at Cyfarthfa, whilst Dowlais has had a large area cleared with already one or two factories built upon it.

On the banks of the Tyne, with the help of the Tyne Commissioners, a number of unsightly ruins are being removed and a large area of ground in Gateshead is being purchased and tidied up ready for new houses and factories. To a smaller extent similar work is being done in Cumberland, all work that badly required doing, work too that will make the place more attractive to go to. Another eyesore that has been prevented rather than removed is Maryport Harbour. For some time the sea has been slowly undermining it, whilst the Company owning the harbour had no funds to make good the damage already done. Money has now been provided to repair the harbour. No more depressing outlook for a town could be provided than a ruined harbour being gradually washed away by the sea. There must be many parts of the country where work of this kind must sadly require doing, but it is doubtful whether any authority has power to spend money in this way.

Another interesting experiment is in the provision of houses to relieve the acute overcrowding problem in the Areas. Owing to the fact that the payment of the Exchequer subsidy in respect of houses built by the authorities themselves is conditional upon the local authority making a contribution from their rates, many of them have found it difficult, owing to their straitened financial circumstances, to comply with this condition and so obtain the advantage of the subsidy. The North Eastern Housing Association has therefore been set up by the Commissioner to build houses to accommodate families displaced as the result of action taken by an authority to eradicate slums or to abate

overcrowding, and houses so built attract the normal Exchequer subsidy. Through this assistance 4175 houses have already been built in the North Eastern Special Area and the total programme involves the construction of 14,160 houses in the North East and 1,780 in the West Cumberland special area. The erection of the 16,940 houses will involve a total expenditure of nearly 8¼ million pounds.

The work of the Commissioner's Department has been made possible by the help given by numbers of people who serve on Trading Estate Boards, on Development Councils, the Housing Association, the Land Settlement Association, and in many other ways. Help of this kind, combined with the excellent work of the staff of the Department, has made it possible to do what has been and is being done. It is quite a unique experiment but at any rate it illustrates how a special difficulty can be tackled on democratic lines.

THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

By Ronald Cartland, M.P.

AT the present time we in this country find ourselves more concerned with the maintenance than with the progress of Democracy. Gradually a spirit of defeatism has become engendered in our people, not so much by the vaunted triumphs of four-year plans and gigantic armaments, as by the persistent suspicion that in the modern world our methods are old-fashioned, that Parliament, in particular, is behind the times and that the democracies must always be outmatched by the ruthless, relentless competition in peace or war of those who are opposed to them.

It is not only a difference of purpose, and of will-power—on which the writer published some observations in The Fortnightly last August. The whole British system, our traditional way of life, is on trial. The theory, once almost universally accepted, that the individual has rights has been banished not from one country but from many. And the organization of Government, keyed to a pitch so far unknown, has been employed to make that banishment absolute. Formerly, nations at least paid lip-service to the code of decent treatment for men and nations. Boys and girls are now being taught that such decency is democratic and despicable.

Great Britain's first need is the security of her national existence. And national existence few people would measure to-day solely in numbers of men and guns, or in statistics of trade, but in immeasurable ways of life and unanalysable traits of character. National security in the last resort depends on the individual, not because he can carry a rifle or work a lathe, but because he is the epitome of his country.

It follows, therefore, that, confronted with the challenge of the Fascist Powers, the citizens of a democratic State must have first of all a clearly-defined and understood purpose which

they will accept as the foundation for their country's motives.

Have we at the moment any such generally accepted and recognized purpose, on which men of all parties—and of none—unite? Meaningless platitudes about Democracy, interpreted according to taste, are not enough. On certain occasions, in times of crisis, a national will is revealed, but for the most part positive belief is displaced by negative emotion, easily raised, changeable and most insidious of all the positive virtues.

Those who are concerned with public affairs, and particularly those in whose hands temporarily the control of the country lies, would do well to focus attention on the machinery by which the policy of Governments is put into operation. In some countries to-day, indeed, organization has become a policy. Certainly, the method by which policy is translated into action is, nowadays, as important as the policy itself. No Government in England, since the War, appears to have had a full realization of speed, in conception, decision or execution. Yet speed to-day is the most powerful item in the behaviour both of men and Governments. How often in the last few years have indecision and procrastination been the charge brought and proved against those responsible for governing the country? Are there not innumerable examples of conflicting policies being pursued at the same time? Of violent efforts having to be made to overcome long neglect? Of irreparable damage done through lack of foresight and forethought?

As the avoidance of waste, human and material, is the lesson of nineteenth-century England, so the development of energy properly controlled and organized, is the lesson of the twentieth. Broadly speaking, there are two aspects of human progress: the progress made in scientific and industrial development, and the progress made outside the realms of Science and Industry. A large margin divides the two: the former has outrun the latter. We are continually in the position of trying to make re-adjustments to reap the benefit of scientific and industrial progress. Frequently, indeed, that progress, because of our failure to advance in other directions, proves not to be the boon eagerly sought for.

If we are to correct the tendency, we must discover where the fault lies. It is foolish to patch with sticking-plaster if a major

operation is the real remedy. Is Parliament to blame? It is the authority of the nation. Has the Parliamentary system outlived its usefulness? Profound changes have certainly taken place in the character and duties of Parliament and of Members since the start of the present century. The growth of the Labour Party, and its close relationship with the Trade Unions, has led to what might fairly be called Trade Union delegacy in the House of Commons. The growth of employers' organizations, and large-scale enterprises, has led them to seek means whereby their views and interests shall be voiced in Parliament. Universal suffrage, with the resultant huge electorates, has made it impossible for a Member to speak to his constituents personally, and thereby has encouraged the power of the party caucus. Social legislation has increased the burden of a Member's work so that probably half his time is occupied with constituents' personal cases and complaints. The general result appears to be that, coupled with the increase in technical and complicated legislation, the House has lost its corporate sense. The man who has views is thought less well-of than the man who has experience, and he is regarded almost as an interloper in debate. Specialists are in demand. Yet a body of specialists is exactly what the House of Commons ought not to be.

More serious is the stricture to be made on the way in which the Executive conducts its business. The habit of dealing with immediate needs, instead of seeking for ultimate causes, has become normal practice. The next election is at the back of Government's mind all the time; ' always put off till tomorrow what may cause trouble to-day ' is accepted as good sense and sound morality. A nation of sleeping dogs has come to be regarded as the highest tribute to a democratic Government. This is a charge which might rightly be brought against Parliament as a whole, were it not for the relationship of Parliament to the Cabinet. Due to modern complexity of legislation and administration, the House of Commons, except on rare instances, is the servant of the Cabinet. True, the Cabinet must always bear in mind " the nature of the brute ", but in general and particularly since 1931, the Executive has had a free hand.

Methods of legislation have changed, too. The post-War trickle of Orders and Rules issued from the Privy Council and Government Departments has become a stream. They exceed the number of Acts in any year by about three to one. Parliament has not the time to check these Orders : only the more vicious perhaps may result in public and, eventually, Parliamentary attention. As Lord Hewart has said : " We do not want a vast army of anonymous officials, hidden from view, above the law, and administering a topsy-turvy system whereby the servants of the public would become its masters ". Yet, while many people deplore what is happening, nothing is done : Ministers adopt the attitude of least resistance and the weapons for injustice and tyranny happily accumulate. In recent years, a shadow Parliament has grown up through the creation of a number of Boards and Statutory Bodies with wide powers, divorced from all Parliamentary and juridical control. At a time when foreign countries tend to increase the sphere of political control, we lessen the responsibility of Parliament more and more. Not necessarily on that ground would one challenge the Import Duties Advisory Committee, the Unemployment Insurance Committee, the Marketing Boards and so on. Unfortunately, this new development in administration seems quite haphazard; these extra-Parliamentary bodies are confronted with questions of public policy which they are quite unable and have no right to determine. They have either to pursue their own policy, irrespective of Parliament's actions in other spheres, or await some decision from Parliament which may be directly contrary to their previous intentions.

The present Government organization largely originated to meet the widening in the functions of the State which followed on the Industrial Revolution. In the last thirty years, Departments have been added, either as the result of some great legislative change, or to cope with some pressing need. There has been improvisation and little co-ordination : although there have been Committees to report on the matter, there has been no re-organization.

A Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction on the Machinery of Government, for instance, presided over by

Lord Haldane, made a survey of the whole administrative field in 1917 to 1918. They reported in December, 1918. Their proposals have been ignored or forgotten. In 1921, Sir Eric Geddes' Committee on National Expenditure, made another survey, though the field was viewed only through financial spectacles : likewise Sir George May's Committee in 1931.

But on no occasion has any Government set its hand to reform of the machine. To-day it is an urgent and essential problem ; if we are to keep our place in the world, we must provide ourselves with an efficient instrument capable of devising and enforcing policy.

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The Haldane Committee laid down the main functions of the Cabinet as follows :—

(a) the final determination of the policy to be submitted to Parliament ;
(b) the supreme control of the national executive in accordance with the policy prescribed by Parliament ; and
(c) the continuous co-ordinatiin and de-limitation of the activities of the several Departments of State.

They went on to suggest that the Cabinet should be small in number, preferably ten, or at most twelve, Ministers.

On the question of the formulation of policy they said :—

" We have come to the conclusion, after surveying what came before us, that in the sphere of civil Government the duty of investigation and thought, a preliminary to action, might with great advantage be more definitely recognized. It appears to us that adequate provision has not been made in the past to the organized acquisition of facts and information, and for the systematic application of thought, as preliminary to the settlement of policy and its subsequent administration ".

Mr. Amery, who for many years had made a study of this problem and has thought as deeply and written as authoritatively as anyone on the subject, from his own long experience bears out the Committee's contention. He complains, surely with justice, that a Cabinet consisting of a score of over-worked Departmental Ministers is quite incapable of either thinking out a definite policy or of securing its effective and consistent execution. He, too, favours a smaller Cabinet : he suggests six members as its maximum. In the recent crisis, last September, the day-to-day decisions were taken by an Inner Cabinet of four. But three of them were Departmental Chiefs. Mr. Amery would have no Departmental duties attached to this Higher Cabinet.

There is no doubt that such a Cabinet will eventually come into existence, if only because of the remorseless pressure of events, particularly those which have their origin overseas.

A newly elected Prime Minister, with courage to face his expectant and disappointed colleagues, could do it and give his administration immense advantages from the start, and his successors would call him blessed!

What of the Cabinet's staff? The Haldane Committee, as long ago as 1918, envisaged a Ministry of Intelligence and Research. Mr. George Catlin in THE FORTNIGHTLY eighteen months ago argued for a body which would be available for consultation by the Government on issues of "long-distance" research. Such a technical staff as he envisaged would not speak on matters of policy—that would still be the province of Ministers. Its sole injunction would be to tell the truth, to report on facts. There has been wide support of the idea of an Economic General Staff. There is to-day in existence the Economic Advisory Council and the Department of Scientific and Industrail Research, but we are still a long way from that thinking staff or Ministry of Research, which both the Haldane Committee and Mr. Catlin had in mind and which would appear to be essential, if Ministers are to watch the trends of the time and govern this country by any other than empirical methods.

Even in statistics we are woefully lacking. No business could be successfully conducted if its records and progress charts were as antiquated as most of the information on which Government has to draw.

There is, of course, the Committee of Imperial Defence; but a Cabinet has to consider and take decisions on things far less tangible and far more inflammable than defence. And it is strategy in the wider sense which tends to be sadly neglected.

Within the last twelve months, three major problems have confronted the Government and still require solution. If they could not have been forestalled, at least diagnosis could have been undertaken and before they became acute we could have had the possible remedies prescribed.

Our export trade is facing novel methods of competition. Firms are now competing not against foreign firms, but against nations. An economic war, in which individuals, however

enthusiastic and painstaking, fight a well-armed, disciplined foe with unlimited resources, can have but one result. There is wide agricultural distress. Proposals are made in desperation for a Royal Commission. But immediate measures are required. And soil fertility, afforestation, crop rotation and the economics of the industry on the right solution of which agriculture's future depends, are subjects for long study. That industrial location is a problem is now generally recognized, but that the creation of distressed areas was inevitable was foretold in 1924, when the symptoms were already apparent owing to lack of foresight in earlier years.

The extraordinary achievements of scientific research should encourage us. How much have we received for so little spent! The Government seem strangely reluctant to acknowledge in tangible form what is, after all, National benefit. But the best tribute to scientific research would be an extension of its methods to other and wider spheres. Scientists themselves, not the most politically-minded of men, are convinced of the need for close co-operation between science and politics.

Yet even if reforms on these suggested lines were accomplished, there would remain for overhaul Parliament and the organization of Government Departments.

To-day, the House of Commons has resigned its place as watch-dog of the public purse. "Estimates" have ceased to be what their name implies. Discussion centres on how to spend, never on how much. The only check to expenditure is the Treasury. It occupies a commanding position. But Treasury policy may not be national policy, and Government Departments may suffer from a form of malnutrition. One wonders whether much of the criticism recently directed against the Service Ministries—and those in charge of Civil Defence—should not be more properly levelled against Treasury Chambers. This, by no means exonerates Parliament, which appears no longer to have the aptitude to direct public funds to the Nation's best advantage. The control of finance by Parliament, let it ever be remembered, is the basis of the Parliamentary system.

The pressure on Ministers and Members may be held partly to account. The time-table is over-crowded, and Ministers are forced to devote much of their time to resisting criticism rather

than to expounding policy. Departments are in the position of being always on the defensive. Back-bench Members are burdened with work much of which is outside their true Parliamentary duties, but which because they are Members they feel obliged to do. The claims of vast electorates, of public functions, with the popular idea of an M.P. engendered by the Press and numerous philanthropic bodies, incline them to concentrate on criticism and objections to some specific proposal. It has been suggested that one remedy which must be put into operation without delay or dislocation is the extension and adaptation of the system of Standing Committees. Responsible to Parliament, they would be able to survey the work of the Departments with greater precision and regularity than is done nowadays by the whole House at the time of the annual estimates. In the case of Foreign Affairs, Imperial Affairs and Finance, smaller Committees, whose proceedings would be secret, might be instituted. Sir Arthur Salter has urged, in particular, the setting up of a Foreign Affairs Committee, arguing that no one without a knowledge of the defence position could properly come to a judgment on the situation last September. Composed of a number of well-tried and universally respected Members of the House, of all parties, the back-bencher would be able to seek guidance, as at present he is unable to do. Machinery existing in France and the United States encourages the belief that some such development is possible here: it would be bound, of course, to have a far-reaching effect on the party system.

In the last issue of THE FORNIGHTLY, Sir Arthur Willert wrote on the need for national advertisement. The medium which he would use was the type of work now so admirably performed by the British council, considerably expanded. But such activities are for foreign consumption. At home, a Ministry of Information might serve the very useful purpose of making known Government services, and of relieving Members of Parliament of being regarded (and having to act) as Social Service Encyclopædias. It might undertake the propaganda which has become now an inevitable part of any new Government scheme. How welcome a ready-made organization would have proved to successive Ministers of Transport, to Sir John Anderson and Defence Ministers in urgent need of recruits!

A re-organization of Government Departments, and their co-ordination with the Statutory Bodies and the various extra-Parliamentary Boards, involves little more than re-planning according to function.

The key to the situation is the Cabinet. Much more depends on its reform than the creation of an efficient machine to expound and execute national policy. That is very necessary. But it is the inefficiency and lack of national effort which is regarded as a symptom of the democracies' decadence. Tired, over-worked men, employing outworn machinery, can never give to a country the leadership it requires. By overhauling the machinery of the State we may at last give leadership its chance. And without leadership Democracy is doomed.

LABOUR AND THE FASCIST SPECTRE

By Hugh Ross Williamson

FROM the welter of hysterical emotionalism, propagandist lies and political manœuvres known as the " Munich Crisis ", one main fact emerged. Conservative statesmanship had won the most spectacular triumph of the century. Four years ago, it was faced by a Peace Movement of such dimensions that it could not have contemplated fighting any war whatever. The Labour leaders had threatened a general strike to prevent war ; the Peace Ballot had shown that, on the side of peace, there were more people than had ever voted for any political party ; and a Tory Premier had to confess that the state of the country, under this inspiration from the Left, was such that he dared not even advocate rearmament without the certainty of defeat at the polls.

By September, 1938, all that was changed. The Trade Unions' enthusiasm for armaments outran even that of the armament firms ; the " International Peace Campaign " urged a policy amounting to a world war with an energy that was frightening; the mantle of imperialistic militarism had fallen from the shoulders of the old *Morning Post* on to those of the *Daily Herald*, which wore it, if not with dignity, at least with delight ; Labour leaders like Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. A. V. Alexander grew lyrical about the duty of protecting the Empire; Mr. Attlee made a speech which, substituting ' gallant little Belgium ' for ' democratic little Czechoslovakia ', might have been delivered by a nice recruiting-sergeant in October, 1914 ; and a puzzled Government found itself in the position of being popularly acclaimed as the ' Peace Party'.

Seldom can there have been so complete a *volte-face.*

But equally disturbing was the effect in the Labour Party itself. As a rule, the internal discussion is between the advanced Socialists, represented in the popular mind by Sir Stafford

Cripps, and the non-Socialist trade unions led by Citrine and Bevin, affectionately known as " the Laurel and Hardy of Transport House ". The issues between the two sections are often debated with sufficient vehemence to cause the Press to refer to a ' split ' in the Labour Party. But the crisis brought them together in a unanimity which was as sudden as it was surprising. Sir Stafford's organ, *The Tribune*, was no less militant than the *Daily Herald*, the Trade Unions' vehicle. Mr. Gollancz's Left Book Club whooped into the fray with its variegated following of near-intellectuals and Communists, unsure of everything but that Soviet Russia was the earthly paradise. So there remained no organ of ' Left ' views to voice the opinions of the rank-and-file Socialists who remained true to their principles—who refused to be enthusiastic about a war to defend British Imperialism, even when represented as on behalf of ' democratic little Czechoslovakia '.

The Crisis produced, moreover, such a crop of experts as can surely never have been seen before in England. In any pub. you could meet half-a-dozen men, otherwise undistinguished, who knew the exact strength of the Russian Air Force, the inner mind of Hitler, the reactions of the German people, the secret policy of Mussolini and the ramifications of the Versailles Treaty. (They always called it the Versailles Treaty, though the one in question was that of St. Germain.) In the clubs, men pontificated at greater length but with even less intelligence on matters of which they knew nothing whatever. And deeper and deeper gloom descended on the genuine Socialists who, while having every sympathy with the oppressed everywhere, wondered why, with ten million people in England existing at starvation level, thousands of pounds should be sent to the Czechs and not a farthing to our own distressed areas.

Something, they thought, seemed to have gone very wrong with official policy. A peace movement had, apparently, been transformed into a war party overnight. " Official " Labour found its spiritual leader in Mr. Duff Cooper, whom for years every shade of Labour opinion had been denouncing with unparalleled fury as an arch-reactionary. The Labour leaders, realizing the extent of the party's revolt against them, dared not

call that special conference of the Labour Movement which was insistently demanded from every quarter.

Meanwhile the Conservative Government smiled contentedly, having achieved the apparently impossible feat of gaining Opposition support for an unlimited armaments programme.

How had it been done? How was it that the Labour Movement which, since 1920, had been clamouring for justice for the Sudeten Germans suddenly announced that it was prepared to risk Armageddon to prevent it? The answer, elusive at first, suddenly crystallized. It had been done by one word "Fascism". "Fascism" had become a propaganda swear-word, the exact equivalent of the war-time "Hun". It was so charged with emotional associations that it could hardly be used in argument any longer. The accusation "Fascist" had—from the opposite angle—all the irrational hatred of the Jew-baiter's "Dirty Jew!" It was possible to stampede the Left into any war or indeed any policy whatever, provided it were represented as an 'anti-Fascist' crusade.

The reason for this was not far to seek. 'Fascism is the organized expression of the capitalists to stick at nothing in order to stay in power'. This, *ex cathedra*, had become the Left view. To question it, in Left circles, was to be dismissed as certainly a fool and probably a knave. "How can we even reason with men", cries Mr. John Strachey, "who do not grasp this most basic of all facts of the world situation to-day?"

This belief and this belief alone was, it gradually became clear, the sole reason for the extraordinary behaviour of the official Left during the crisis. They were convinced that in fighting the German people they were fighting Fascism and, therefore, capitalism. Had the Bruening Government demanded the return of the Sudeten areas, Labour would have done its best to ensure that the British Prime Minister arranged their surrender more quickly than in fact he did. Had the German Republic demanded Tanganyika, and a Tory Imperialist Premier showed signs of refusing it, Labour might well have risked a general strike. But return either to German Fascism *i.e.* (aggressive capitalism)? Better go to war and exterminate Western civilization altogether.

That 'basic fact', must, one felt, be extremely well-

authenticated to lead to such stubborn conclusions. Consequently it was with some surprise that, on looking into the matter, one found that it was not a fact at all ; that there was not a shred of evidence to prove it ; and that it was merely an assumption based on a belief in the infallibility of Karl Marx.

Marx predicted a final struggle of disintegrating capitalism ; what, in fact, happened was the appearance of Fascism. Therefore Fascism is the final struggle of disintegrating capitalism. That is the argument. There is no other and there never has been.

Here, then, was a singular flaw in Socialist thought. Had it been a matter of mere intellectual debate, it would not have mattered overmuch. But its consequences were not confined to theoretical speculations. They had brought the world to the very edge of war. A movement which, after 1918, had said—and meant—" Never again! " had been fooled by it.

The parallel with the years of the Great War was uncomfortable. After 1918 every man and woman of the Left thought that experience had brought wisdom. Never again would they believe atrocity stories or be stirred by hatred of the ' Hun ' and similar mythological figures. Never again would a ' Hang the Kaiser ' election sweep the country. And twenty years later the official leaders of Labour fell, without any exception but Mr. Lansbury, for precisely the same propaganda. And all because of an unthinking and inaccurate identification of ' Fascism ' with ' capitalist aggression ', on the basis of the infallibility of Karl Marx.

To quote Mr. John Strachey again :

> " It is quite untrue as is sometimes alleged, that the Fascists are simply a gang of criminals ruling Germany for their own benefit. They are a gang of criminals, but they are ruling Germany on behalf of and in the interests of the German capitalist and landowning class. Nor could the Nazis ever have got power, nor could they hold it for a month, if they ceased to represent the interests of this owning class ".

The difficulty is to prove or disprove this assertion. Facts and figures, in so far as they are available at all, are immediately repudiated by one side or the other as propagandist inventions. Nor is there room in a short general article such as this for detailed analysis. But it is notable that the more intelligent Socialist writers, such as R. H. S. Crossman, are fast abandoning

the nonsense of the " Capitalism's Last Ditch " theory of Fascism ; and I may be allowed, perhaps, two quotations from sources which cannot possibly be accused of bias in favour of Fascism. One is from the *News Chronicle* and the other from the *Daily Herald.*

A Correspondent of the former, analysing the present opposition to Fascism in Germany, wrote :

> " Among the former ' haves '—the old aristocracy, the former ' upper classes ', whose standard of wealth and whose power has dwindled so greatly—there is a growing desire for a return to the ' good old times '. Many of them would welcome a war—believing that a war would probably restore the military caste to power right away and that a lost war would certainly destroy the Nazi party, with its socialist policy of destroying class and making great extremes of wealth increasingly difficult ; and secure a return of the system under which they at least would be prosperous and powerful again ".

The same writer points out that

> " some of the most intelligent of the young people of the working class support them (the Nazis) because of their socialism, which is far deeper and more real than is often realized in England ".

And this is from the *Daily Herald's* picture of the capitalist's position under Fascism :

> In Nazi Germany, with certain important exceptions, dividends over 6% may not be paid ; and profits over and above that level have to be subscribed to Government bonds. In Italy and Japan, too, the big capitalist, individual or corporation, is virtually compelled to accept the Government's new bonds in return for cash profits.
>
> Secondly, in all three countries, the capitalist is forbidden to convert his fortune into the currency and securities of a foreign country, ' to take his money abroad '. Worse still, he is compelled to hand over the foreign securities he already holds in return for his own Government bonds.
>
> So this is the capitalist's position under a Fascist government. He keeps his paper claims to wealth, mostly by compulsion, in his own Government bonds, and he draws his income from them—but for how long ? And how much are a Fascist's paper promises worth ? Neither he nor the Government knows. And that aching question makes the big capitalists feel secretly much less happy under Fascism than they doubtless expected when they helped it into power.

No one could pretend that these were pictures of the Socialist Commonwealth, but they might well pass for sketches of the transition stage through which—even on the Marxist admission—society will have to pass on its way there. And they certainly suggest that, under Fascism, a far greater measure of practical socialism is being achieved than was noticeable in this country, even under its Labour administrations.

The Fascist's conception of himself as the destroyer of capitalism seems, thus, to be far nearer the truth than his opponent's caricature of him as its ruthless supporter. And the practical danger that faces the Labour Party to-day is a failure to realize that the main body of recruits to fascism is from the *Left*; that they are gained by the very arguments which we socialists are using to try to convert them to socialism; and that as long as we persist in assuming that 'fascism' is capitalist tyranny and 'democracy' socialist freedom—instead of 'fascism' being *socialist* tyranny and 'democracy' *capitalist* 'freedom'— political alignments will remain in a state of chaos which must eventually lead to disaster and war.

Why, then, should the idea of Fascism as a capitalist, anti-socialist force have gained such currency? Because, mainly, of the German persecution of the Jews and suppression of the Trade Unions. Here, again, there is a failure of logic in the popular Left view. And the initial mistake of identifying Fascism with capitalism is hardly less disastrous than the secondary one of equating Socialism with Semitism and Trade Unionism.

To take the Jewish problem first.

In the first place, there is nothing exclusively 'Fascist' in the persecution of the Jews. That unfortunate race has been persecuted by every nation which has harboured it from the time of Moses onwards. We ourselves have a most unhappy record in that respect. Russia has an even worse one: France, at the time of the Dreyfus case, was not a shining example of tolerance; and the memory of what the Jews suffered in Spain still lingers in the mind of anyone acquainted with history. Anti-semitism in Germany is no more the work of 'Fascists' (if words mean anything) than the Pharaoh of the Exodus was a 'Fascist'. It is a pathological outburst of mass-sadism directed against a time-honoured scapegoat. That these manifestations have taken place under the Nazi *régime* and have been to a certain extent encouraged by it is true, but in our just horror at racial persecution and our indignant contempt for those who countenance it, we tend to overlook that what sub-stratum of reason there is in anti-semitism has nothing to do with race at all.

For the second thing to be remembered is that, as Marx himself said, " anti-semitism is the socialism of the stupid man ". Where the politically educated says ' capitalist ', the stupid man says ' Jew '. Where the enlightened socialist inveighs against monopolies, the irrational one sees a Jewish conspiracy. And the reason for this is twofold. In his individual experience (and this seems to have been particularly true of Germany) the capitalist often is the Jew ; and the Jew, for centuries, has been the accepted symbol of money-power.

Undoubtedly it was the persecution of the Jews which, in the first place, swung world opinion against Fascism. Emotional horror, not reasoned objection, was the factor which made many British socialists clamour for international justice for Germany before Hitler came to power and, immediately afterwards, shout even more loudly for a policy perpetuating the injustice of Versailles. The arguments advanced for the change : ' These thugs are not fit to govern ' or ' The Nazis do not really represent Germany ' were obviously little more than rationalizations of an instinctive revulsion.

The effect, however, was undoubted. From that moment " Fascism " ceased, to the ordinary man, to have any political meaning at all. It became an epithet interchangeable with " tyrant ", " torturer " or " mass murderer ". History suddenly teemed with " Fascists " from Herod the Great to Catherine de' Medici. Even literature was not safe, when a Fellow of All Souls discovered that Christopher Marlowe was " Fascist-minded ".

Thus did the anti-semitism of Fascism provide its own nemesis. By making cool argument out of the question, it ensured a simplification of the problem which was a falsification. None the less, if it is still possible to disentangle threads which seem to have become hopelessly intertwined, it will be found that the anti-semitism of Fascism, far from being the same as anti-socialism, is, in essence, possibly only " the socialism of the stupid man ".

But what of the attack on the Trade Unions ?

Here again, two points must be borne in mind. The first is that the structure of the Labour Party in England has no parallel elsewhere. Herr Egon Wertheimer, writing in 1929, said ;

> " The foreign Socialist, undertaking a study of the British Labour Party, is met by the surprising fact that its organization completely departs in every way from all that he has hitherto thought desirable and necessary. Accustomed to a solidly organized party rising like a pyramid on the units of the local branches, the interlocking organizational basis of the Labour Party and Trade Unions in Great Britain comes as a complete reversal of all his ideas. On the Continent the various Socialist parties have for the most part been built up along the lines of individual membership and owe their main strength to the small local groups . . . On the Continent it is at least theoretically possible that the Trade Unions could be crushed without inflicting vital injury to the political movement ".

When, a few years later, the Trade Unions were crushed in Germany, British Socialists—arguing from their own eccentric system—immediately assumed that socialism also was crushed. This deduction they confirmed to their own satisfaction by pointing to the triumph of ' Fascism', (which, of course, they identified with capitalist aggression). It did not occur to them then—nor has yet—that to the ordinary German socialist Fascism might be merely socialism freed from Trade Union tyranny.

The second point is that, here in England, the Trade Unions are not Socialist. As *The Observer* so correctly observed in a recent issue " a prosperous and efficient trade unionism is among the truly conservative forces of the nation ". This merely confirmed what Mr. Ernest Bevin, the Transport House ' boss ', had already admitted : " There are thousands of our people paying the political levy who are not conscious Socialists. We have got to acknowledge it. They are not tied to the political party in the same sense that the individual member is . . . and the leaders of the Trade Union movement have a very difficult task in keeping the political consciousness of their membership up to concert pitch ". And in England Fascism itself started by Sir Oswald Mosley being driven out of the Labour Party by the Trade Union block vote because he persisted in advocating a plan which, according to the Labour Party Executive, implied too great a measure of socialism to be practical for a minority government.

It seems then that anti-Trade Unionism does not necessariiy imply anti-Socialism, and that Fascism, however inimical it may be to Trade Unionists and Jews, is not, on that account, any less a species of socialism. Indeed, it might be argued that, since Jewish finance and the Trade Unions are both pro-capitalist

forces, Fascist opposition to them is a further proof that it is exactly what it says it is— a method of destroying capitalism more quickly and efficiently than can be effected by a parliamentary Labour movement.

The reason that I personally am a socialist and not a fascist is that the two distinguishing characteristics of fascism— government by corporations and national self-sufficiency— seem to me to be undesirable, unnecessary and impractical. Consequently I am far less likely ever to 'go fascist' than those of my colleagues who hate fascism without having troubled to examine it. But at the same time, I fully realize that socialism has far more in common with fascism, both in its motive and in the end it desires, than it has with democratic Conservatism (which is merely a mask for plutocratic tyranny) or with the Whig branch of Liberalism.

The real genius of capitalism in its struggle for survival is that it has set its two enemies, socialism and fascism, at each other's throats. It has divided to rule. And nowhere has the manœuvre been exhibited with such startling simplicity as during the present fateful days. A Conservative Government (the white, if not the last, hope of world capitalism), seeing in a strong fascist (i.e., *socialist*) Germany a threat to British Imperialism is calling for a war to crush it. All it needs is a breathing-space in which it may conscript the nation and rearm to the hilt. The one difficulty standing in the way of its plans might be a socialist and progressive movement, which until a few years ago resisted rearmament, repudiated conscription, agitated against imperialism and put peace in the forefront of its programme. Without the co-operation of this movement, its war plans will fail. But it has had one astonishing piece of luck. The anti-capitalist movement in Germany has attacked, in pursuit of its socialistic policy, the Jews and the Trade Unions; and in England the main propaganda organs of Labour—the *Daily Herald* and the Left Book Club—are controlled by Trade Unionists and Jews. There is thus no need for anti-German propaganda from the Conservative side, since it is provided with a steady consistency by the scribes of English socialism.

MEDICINE AND RELIGION*

By Lord Horder

ON the first sabbath after the crisis last autumn, as I " listened in " to the strains of " O, God our help in ages past . . ."—that sonorous and stately hymn—I could not help asking myself the question, ' but when are we going to begin to help God ? ' I hope that does not sound blasphemous. Is there not something just a little craven, and just a little childish, in the haste, and in the regularity, with which we fly to this invocation, both when we are in serious trouble which a little more vision and a little more moral integrity might have avoided, as well as when, by the skin of our teeth, we find ourselves effecting a temporary escape from an immeasureable calamity ?

Again and again we exhibit this same mean and childish behaviour when we are faced with the threat of bodily disease or accident, as also when we are faced with the threat of sudden and serious disaster to our country.

The familiar maxim " God helps those who help themselves " is so trite that its real significance is often overlooked. But I believe sincerely that the health of the body politic and national security are closely related with the themes of Medicine and Religion. And I have the impression that the relation of the one to the other, their interaction, has eluded the minds of many of my fellow-men to-day. To illustrate what I mean I may perhaps quote from a letter which Miss Edith Sitwell has preserved in her recent book on Queen Victoria.

This letter was written in 1847 to the Presbytery of the city of Edinburgh on behalf of Lord Palmerston, in reply to a request that he would, as Prime Minister, order a day for a national fast in the face of a spreading epidemic of cholera.

*Based on an Inaugural Address given at the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh on October 11th, 1938.

" Sir " (the letter reads)

" I am directed by Viscount Palmerston . . . . . to state that there can be no doubt that manifestations of humble resignation to the Divine Will, and sincere acknowledgments of human unworthiness, are never more appropriate than when it has pleased Providence to inflict mankind with some severe visitation ; but it does not appear to Lord Palmerston that a national fast would be suitable to the circumstances of the present moment.

" The Maker of the Universe has established certain laws of nature for the planet on which we live, and the weal or woe of mankind depends upon the observance or neglect of these laws. One of these laws connects health with the absence of those gruesome exhalations which proceed from overcrowded human beings, or from decomposing substances, whether animal or vegetable ; and these same laws render sickness the almost inevitable consequence of exposure to those noxious influences. But it has at the same time pleased Providence to place it within the power of man to make such arrangements as will prevent or disperse such exhalations as to render them harmless, and it is the duty of man to attend to these laws of nature and to exert the faculties which Providence has thus given to man for his own welfare. . . . . Lord Palmerston would suggest that the best course which the people of this country can pursue, to deserve that the further progress of the cholera should be stayed, will be to employ the interval that will elapse between the present time and the beginning of next spring in planning and executing measures by which those portions of their towns and cities which are inhabited by the poorest classes, and which, from the nature of things must most need purification and improvement, may be freed from those causes and sources of contagion which, if allowed to remain, will infallibly breed pestilence to be fruitful in death, in spite of all the prayers and fastings of a united but inactive nation. When man has done his utmost for his own safety, then is the time to invoke a blessing of Heaven to give effect to his exertions.

" I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

" Henry Fitzroy ".

It is not so much of specific manifestations of medicine and religion that I wish to write. Let me step back and look at the subject broadly and philosophically. First of all there is the important matter of definitions ; that is not nearly so difficult in the case of Medicine as it is in the case of Religion. I can accept the dictionary definition of Medicine as being the " science and art concerned with the alleviation and prevention of disease and with the restoration and preservation of health ". We have come to regard " prevention " of disease and " preservation " of health as of greater value than the " cure " of disease and the " restoration " of health, but the dictionary definition is at all events historically accurate.

When we consider Religion the choice of a satisfactory

definition is not at all easy. It is not until I come to the fifth in the list given in the Oxford Dictionary that I read one which seems to me to embrace the facts as we meet them in actual life. I certainly do not mean by Religion " a state of life bound by monastic laws " ; nor " a particular system of faith and worship " ; nor even the " exercise or practice of rites or observances implying a belief in, reverence for, and desire to please, a Divine ruling power ". But I do think that Religion may be defined as the " recognition of a higher unseen power controlling destiny and a personal or general acceptance of this feeling as a standard of spiritual or practical life ".

Medicine, be it noted, is more than Science. It is Art also, and if we use the word Art in this connection in its widest and best sense—to express skill in the application of Science—it is clear that there is a very definite point of contact between Medicine and Religion. Not only is there no opposition between them, but they can—and should—be made complementary to each other in relation to both the bodily and the spiritual portion of man's life.

For the whole of man, and not merely a part of him, is concerned—or may be—in Medicine, whether this be preventive or curative. And this whole includes his spirituality or his religious temperament.

As Medicine should take Religion into account, so Religion must be willing to be helped by Medicine. For Religion is not fixed and immutable as God is, it is man's conception and realization of God, and this grows and changes with the development of man's nature.

But, though the functions of doctor and priest overlap, this does not mean that they can, with equal success, do each other's work. It means rather that the doctor must be priest in his attitude towards his patient's spirit, and the priest must be doctor in his attitude towards his patient's body. The good doctor will not merely tolerate, still less discourage, the flight, the expansion of his patient's spirit, he will provide the sympathetic atmosphere which makes this easy. And the good priest will restrain himself from thinking that it is a more wonderful thing to attempt to bring about the cure or alleviation of a bodily disease in a supernatural, than in a natural, manner.

For such temptation does exist, has always existed, and will continue to exist so long as magic holds its spell over us.

Spiritual diseases, it is true, can only be cured by spiritual means. Again, the term " spiritual healing " is justified, if it is intended to cover the healing of mental sickness by mental treatment. But in its actual everyday use it refers to neither of these. It refers to the curing, or alleviating, of organic bodily diseases by spiritual agencies.

To advance that the power of the mind over the body is great, and to say that the power of the spirit over both may be even greater—the implication being that spiritual healing operates somewhere in the realm of these two well-known facts is to confuse the issue. Proof that the issue is confused, though not deliberately, is given by the existence of " spiritual healers " who, though no doubt good men and women, are often neither doctors nor priests. The visits of such a person to a very ill patient are not infrequently sandwiched between those of the priest and the doctor.

Spiritual healers are said to possess a special " gift " of healing; that is their claim, a claim which is frequently recognized by what is sometimes called " organized Religion ", but which is not recognized by organized Medicine.

To put the position more bluntly, Medicine regards these folk askance, places them with those who talk about " magnetic " and " psychic " powers, and finds it difficult to avoid the term charlatan in speaking of them.

This would perhaps not be very important, were it not that some priests become intrigued by a desire to emulate the alleged successes of the spiritual healer. In my own judgment this is a pity because, by endeavouring to do so, they step down from that high plane upon which their mission is so clear and so successful. I know that they feel they have not only authority, but also an injunction, to do this very work, but this does not change my view that such action is a disservice to their calling.

The alleged successes of spiritual healers fall into three classes, and only three : cases of mental instability, cases of hysterical paralysis, and cases in which pain is lessened or banished.

One who was perhaps the most popular exponent of the " laying on of hands " in recent years, in writing of his experience

says that " the healing of disease, *like the original source of disease*, lies in the spiritual sphere ". This attributing of bodily disease to maladjustment of the spirit is, of course, allied to the basis of Christian Science. He goes on to say that, since some physicians pray for their patients, it is just as reasonable for some priests (though he himself was not a priest) to treat bodily ills. But in the list of his successes which follows these and other comments on this particular subject there is not one which convinces the intelligent reader that the disease which was cured or alleviated was a bodily ailment rather than an ailment of the mind or of the spirit.

Most of the cases which he cites were cases of mental illness ; one was a drink addict and one was clearly a case of hysterical paralysis. " I am led ", he says in one place, " to believe that the divine power can heal all disease and kill the life of . . . germs ". The article concludes by a testimonial from " all the archbishops and bishops of the Church of Australia ". Says the testimonial, " There are facts of physical healing, complete or partial, immediate or incipient—facts observed, unquestioned, which for our purpose need no more precise definition ". But it is just that " more precise definition " which clear thinking demands. Summing up the position the signatories say of the patients thus treated : " Their spirit has been healed of its fear and anxiety ", a conclusion with which we may entirely agree.

It will be noticed that in none of these cases is the accepted definition of spiritual healing fulfilled. The treatment of mental disease is through the mind. The basis of the treatment of hysteria is healthy suggestion, so applied as to counter the morbid suggestion which causes the trouble. As for pain, that "worst of ills," I must not stay to discuss its physiology or its psychology ; suffice it to remind you that both its degrees, and our tolerance of it, are influenced greatly by the mind and still more by the spirit.

I like that salutary, if bluff, answer that St. Augustine, when old and ill, gave to the man who brought his son to be healed ; that if he had any power to cure the sick he would first use it on himself.

It seems to me very improbable that either the doctor or the

priest is conferring real benefit if he chooses a method of treatment which tends to bolster ignorance or superstition in his patient's mind. The doctor, whilst never forgetting that " man does not live by bread alone ", is bound to be guided in his efforts by Science to a greater degree than is the priest ; yet the priest should, I think, on his part, understand and accept all that Science teaches which can be of service to the Spirit of Man—and himself be a ready medium for transmitting it.

If this be allowed, then to visit the sick room, to don a vestment and to pray may be helpful. But to make certain movements between the patient's body and the open window to indicate the casting out of the evil spirit of cancer or pneumonia are not justified, even if the patient holds such an archaic view of pathology or because he feels better in his mind after the rite is over.

In these matters there are alternative methods of achieving results which do not prostitute reason but which do redound to the glory of God.

Is it a miracle that the patient wants and the doctor or the priest itches to perform ? Then does not Science teem with miracles, with mechanisms that lead to infinite wonder ? And in the realm of the Spirit is not a miracle that one man is able, by sheer weight of his personality and love for his fellow-man, to put courage and patience and hope into him ?

In the early stages of man's history the greater part of Medicine was Magic—the sorcerer's art—and the greater part of Religion was superstition—the exploitation of fear or of ignorance. Mankind is outgrowing these primitive ideas, and if our patients show a tendency to drift back to them we shall help them best by stabbing their spirits " wide awake ".

For we should recognize, I think, that there is as yet no universal spirit in mankind but only a desire, a passion if you will, to approximate to the Spirit of God. There is no totalitarianism of souls. For that reason I am dubious of the ultimate value to humanity of the so-called Oxford Group.

One man's conception of God's relation, and man's relation, to the Universe, may be as simple as the first chapter of Genesis ; another's may be as complicated as the philosophy of Rudolf Steiner. What matters is his passion, and this it is, like the

lust of the body to live, that the priest must cherish and support.

* * * * *

It is of interest to note the relation of Medicine to Religion through the ages. Although we have evidence that in Egyptian times, as early as the sixteenth century B.C., the physician, priest and magician were three separate persons, the tendency in later eras, as in savage races to-day, was to confuse, or to amalgamate, Medicine and Religion. The resultant exponent of both was the magician or sorcerer. Medicine-men were used to drive away rain, for example, by throwing fire-sticks in the air and shouting. When unprincipled they worked on the fears and credulity of the community and were often both rich and powerful in consequence, developing into gods and kings.

This tendency to confuse Religion and Medicine reappears whenever civilization sinks into the primeval slough of violence. In the contemporary world it is seen in modern " faith-healing ", Christian Science, and a number of cults and groups. Both disease and its cure come once more to be regarded as " God-given ". Only as man gains (or recovers) his spiritual balance does he bear the burden of his own follies and his own negligence sturdily and with dignity.

It was not until Hellenism broke upon the world that we see Medicine and Religion proceeding hand in hand, both being inspired by that simplicity which characterized Greek philosophy and Greek life. In their Religion it is true the Greeks were pagan, " suckled in a creed outworn ", but they endowed their gods with all the best qualities of which they themselves were capable. The clarity of their thought allowed the advance of Science and Religion side by side. The Hippocratic school based its tenets solely upon observation, and so, for the first time, laid a true foundation for Medicine. And, though Greek religion was a philosophy rather than a religion as we understand it to-day, Socrates' one aim was to find a basis for the moral and practical life. And to this aim he owes that unique character and personality with which history credits him.

Plato, as we know, strained his philosophy to its utmost to reach an idea of God. His ideal was to identify the super-idea " God " with the good—good in itself and *our* good—and so the Greeks moved a long way towards the immutable God by

loving ever more purely the beautiful, the good and the true.

In this quest they did actually succeed in arriving at an intuition of God that outswept mere philosophy and thus prepared the western world for Christianity. The body was to them a lovely and a noble thing, well deserving of their care. This attitude towards the body made Medicine a pursuit to be highly regarded.

In their Medicine the Greeks achieved a ' Hygiene ', perhaps for the first time in the world's history. They were helped thereto by the ideal of man as a harmonious being who might be balanced physically and spiritually, who might be both beautiful and noble. Greek hygiene was, however, a personal hygiene, and it was restricted in its influence to the cultured class. Sociology had yet two thousand years to wait, and Public Health, as we understand it, is a very modern affair.

But the Greeks did succeed in linking up their search for truth and their love of the simplicities of life with a scientific method applied to Medicine. And they did also succeed in effecting so close a union between metaphysics, morals and Religion that though, as already remarked, this union was still only a philosophy, it was a philosophy which had as its object teaching a man to live well and to think rightly about God, the world and himself. And so simple and so thorough was the Greek mind that this philosophy was able to take them further than Religion succeeded in taking some civilizations that followed them.

Plato records that one of the Egyptian priests, who was of a very great age, said : " O Solon, Solon, you Hellenes are but children, and there was never an old man who was a Hellene ". Solon in return asked him what he meant. " I mean to say, he replied, that in mind you are all young ; there is no old opinion handed down among you by ancient tradition ; nor any science which is hoary with age ".

This Greek ideal, which I have so briefly sketched, received a severe check during the early Christian era. The body was at first distrusted and, later, scorned. The Church took over the scant records of medical lore and jealously guarded them, not only from use outside but against expansion inside. Through

the long Dark Ages all efforts to add to the corpus of knowledge were frowned upon and their authors severely punished.

With the Renaissance came the re-birth of Science, first in the field of astronomy, and then in anatomy. Medicine was not slow to follow, freeing itself, after a struggle, from the trammels of an ecclesiasticism which sought for a long time to keep control of all knowledge ; knowledge was power, and too much knowledge of the body by others was thought to weaken the power of the Church over the soul.

Even to-day all that is not past. A considerable section of the Christian Church still refuses to yield on the subject of biological control of the body, fearing lest it might sacrifice to some degree its influence over the spirit. The past three decades, however, have seen an immense increase in our knowledge of the science of the mind. This science is proving to be of great service alike to Medicine and Religion. In the realm of the mind there exists a common field for action by both doctor and priest, the body and the spirit receiving help along their different yet parallel paths.

By relinquishing the idea of the mind as a transcendental unit the priest does not cease his interest in it. He will prove a better curer of sick souls if he understands a good deal about man's mind, since the spirit has its temporary home there. He will acquire this knowledge but he will not, if he be wise, allow it to usurp the place of Religion in his treatment of the spirit. He will still preach the Kingdom of God and leave the doctor to help the patient resolve his mental complexes.

The claims of the new psychology are, at least, exaggerated. For, after all, mental and spiritual health, just like bodily health, connotes an eventual integration, not a temporary disintegration, and it may well be that it is here that Religion comes in. Psycho-analysis can often free the mind from obstacles to its own vital process, but it cannot make it healthy—that is its own business.

Religion, then, as I conceive it, is an influence of a positive sort, possessing dynamic force, which is not to say that I regard it as being mere Positivism, or Sociology touched by emotion. But I am " left cold ", as the saying is, by all cults, and even by all knowledge, that cannot, and is not, translated into terms

of behaviour. Consequently I have not dealt here with religious beliefs which remain divorced from conduct. These " hang like dust about the brain or dry like raindrops on the stones ".

And so also when I speak of Medicine, the pragmatist in the doctor takes cognizance only of that part of knowledge that can be used for the healing of the patient—the rest, as Broussais remarked, belongs to the naturalist.

* * * * *

Slowly—too slowly—but, I trust, surely, Medicine is beginning to realize that, though research is good, though all this rapid accumulation of knowledge is good, new forms of medical *service* are required. " Health and disease are no longer matters for private concern. The invalid is useless to his community. He becomes a burden to it ". Moreover, though the economic problem is largely with the statesman, it is with the physician too. He can tell the fit how to keep fit, and he can tell the near-to-fit how to be quite fit. His power is greater, and wider than ever it was, but he must serve the whole of society, not merely the few who fall by the way-side.

Surely the same call comes to Religion ? We hear of " moral rearmament ", and not too soon. Passion has gone out of our ideals, and we no longer live as those whose " chief acquaintance is above ". Why is this ? Romanticists among us would like to turn back to the " good old days " before there came the machines and engines to which their craven souls attribute all our woes. We dare not turn back, if we could.

There are competing tendencies amongst the teachers of Religion to-day as there always have been, between isolated detachment and active social service. Both are necessary for spiritual health, but I suggest that the present need is, especially, in the direction of social service, just as it is in the realm of Medicine.

Cannot we, together, recapture that serenity, that simplicity of the Greeks, that unself-conscious mood in which both body and soul were encouraged to function to their full ? Their plea was " not for a life of perverse disputings or busy proselytizing, but only that men and women should look at one another with a clear and steadfast eye, and march forward along the paths they chose with firm step and erect front ".

POLAND'S PROBLEMS IN 1939.

By Stefan Litauer

POLAND at the end of 1938 could look back with satisfaction to the settlement of two major problems: Polish Lithuanian relations were restored to a healthy condition, Teschen Silesia returned to Poland.

The most typical embodiment of Polish—Lithuanian affinity was the maker of modern Poland, Marshal Josef Pilsudski, himself a Pole of Lithuanian origin, by whom the removal of the artificial barrier which for twenty years hermetically sealed the Lithuanian frontier against Poland was most ardently desired. The maintenance of her influence among the Baltic countries is one of the corner-stones of Poland's policy, which aims at keeping the balance between her two powerful neighbours —Germany and Russia. Without the collaboration of the Baltic States, whose interest is similar to that of Poland, the policy of maintaining the balance would be upset. A Lithuania that submits to Germany or Russia disturbs that balance and thus endangers the peace in Eastern Europe. But a Lithuania which alongside of Latvia and Estonia collaborates with Poland in preserving neutrality between Germany and Russia contributes towards the stabilization of peace. From the economic point of view, the resumption of relations between Poland and Lithuania is of considerable value as regards transport and communications. It is especially important to Poland that she should be able to float her timber down the Niemen river to Memel, the main port for the export of timber from the vast forests in the Polish hinterland, bordering on Lithuania. To follow up the political, economic and cultural relations with her northern neighbour will no doubt be one of the main objects of Poland's policy in 1939.

The return of Teschen Silesia presents a different problem. Politically speaking, the incorporation of that comparatively

small area inhabited mostly by Poles is not of such great importance ; though morally, of course, the return of an age-old Polish province to the motherland was very gratifying to the Polish nation. But the real significance of the incorporation of Teschen Silesia with Poland lies in its economic value : it considerably increased the economic wealth of Poland and was a valuable addition to the Polish industry in Upper Silesia. These economic gains, however, imply also economic liabilities. The Polish Government must endeavour not only to maintain the present economic output of Teschen Silesia, but also to increase its equipment and to strengthen its economic position generally. Hence there arose the need to look for new markets for the products of the heavy industries of that district. This accounts for the initiative which the Polish Government has recently taken to enter into closer economic relations with the Soviet Union, which can provide an important outlet for the industrial production of Teschen Silesia.

Poland entered the year 1939 with two weighty problems still to be resolved : the question of the Jews and the destiny of the Ukrainians. Both are really problems of internal politics though each of them interlocks with foreign affairs.

The Jewish question in Poland has assumed a magnitude which transcends the scope of a purely internal problem. Not only has Poland among all countries the highest percentage of Jews in the whole world, but the social and economic structure of Jewry in Poland is so unnatural and unsound that, overcrowded as she is, Poland has to suffer from the burden of the consequences of that problem more than any other country. The Jews constitute 10 per cent. of the total population of 35 millions in Poland to-day, but the number of 3½ million Jews living in Poland is not evenly spread over the territory of the Republic, in the same proportion. 75 per cent. of the Jews live in towns and are a typically urban population, which compared with Poland's total *urban* population constitutes nearly 28 per cent. The large cities like Warsaw, Lodz, Lwow, Krakow and Wilno are overcrowded with Jews. In Warsaw alone, as against a Polish population of approximately 800,000, there is a Yiddish-speaking population of 340,000. In Lodz the Polish-speaking population number 357,000 and the Yiddish-speaking 192,000 ;

in Lwow 200,000 use Polish as their language and 90,000 Yiddish.

The vast majority of the Jews in Poland have remained a foreign element. The growing Jewish nationalism was a check even to that limited process of assimilation which was going on previously. During the years from 1921 to 1931 the Jewish factor in Poland underwent a colossal change. While at the census in 1921 out of a total of 2,849,000 persons of the Jewish faith, 2,111,000 declared themselves as Jews not only by race but also by national consciousness and as speaking Yiddish, whereas 738,000 regarded themselves as Poles and gave Polish as their mother tongue ; at the census in 1931, out of a total of 3,114,000 persons of the Jewish faith, 2,733,000 declared themselves as Jews by national consciousness and as speaking Yiddish, whereas only 381,000 regarded themselves as Poles. This process has gathered speed during the last few years. To-day not more than 200,000 Jews regard themselves as Poles. Thus a bare 6 per cent. of the Jews in Poland are united with the Polish nation in their hearts and thoughts, and 94 per cent. forming a body of over 3 million people, regard themselves as an alien element. Herein lies the fundamental difference between the Jewish question in Poland and in Germany. In Poland 94 per cent. of the Jews are an alien element, whereas in Germany the great majority of the Jews, probably not less than 90 per cent., represented a thoroughly German element, if not by race, then in their sentiments, culture and language. The touchstone for this is Palestine : 80 per cent. of the immigrants since the Balfour declaration have been Jews from Poland, whilst the Jews from Germany form only a negligible percentage.

If it be admitted that the Jewish question has transcended the bounds of a domestic problem and has assumed international importance, this is true in the case of the Jews in Poland rather than the Jews in Germany. To recognize the Jewish problem in Germany as an international problem is to put a premium on the persecution and forcible expulsion of Jews. On the contrary, to treat the Jewish problem in Poland as one of international interest is but to realize the existence of a state of affairs, which if not solved may lead to grave consequences. If

therefore international committees are now busy trying to organize Jewish emigration for settlement overseas, they should look for suitable material in Poland, where there has always been an adequate supply of emigrants suited for pioneer work, which demands so much energy and sacrifice. The organization of a large-scale emigration of Polish Jews for settlement in overseas countries, and in particular in Palestine, is just as important to the Jews as it is to the Poles, and the Polish Government will certainly have to devote to it much of its time and attention in 1939.

The problem of the Ukrainians is not new to the Polish Government. It has weighed on the political structure of Poland ever since she re-emerged as an independent State twenty years ago. Nobody would deny that the failure to find so far a solution satisfactory to the two sides concerned does not reflect much credit on Polish Governments. Painful as it is, this has to be admitted frankly. But this is not the place to analyse the causes of this state of affairs or to argue who is the villain. No doubt both sides are to blame. Certainly it is not yet too late for a satisfactory solution of this thorny problem. An essential condition is that it must be detached from all influences coming from outside Poland. The problem of the Ukrainians in Poland is a domestic affair, and anyone who has its solution at heart should bear this in mind. This must be especially realized by the numerous friends of the Ukrainians in Great Britain. Above all, it should be recognized that the territory inhabited by the Ukrainian population forms an organic and inseparable part of Poland. Its ethnographically mixed character is the reason why this region must remain within the Polish State. This mixed character renders any attempt at creating an independent State out of the territories belonging now to Poland impracticable. A small Ukrainian State, consisting of the three voyevodships, those of Lwow, Stanislawow and Tarnopol, known as Eastern Galicia, and sometimes erroneously referred to as the Polish Ukraine, which would be governed by the Ukrainians and have a Polish irredentist element, is inconceivable. Such a morbid growth on the living organism of a Polish State of 30 millions, which would remain after deducting the population of this region, is impossible.

It is interesting to compare the actual population figures in this region. The official statistics for 1931 show the following distribution according to the mother tongue : There were in the

Stanislawow voyevodship	1,016,000	Ukrainians, *i.e.*	66	per cent.
Tarnopol "	1,191.100	" "	45.5	"
Lwow "	1,067,200	" "	34.1	"
making a total of	3,274,300	Ukrainians.		

In that region the membership of the Greek Catholic Church is synonymous with Ukrainian nationality. In 1931 there were in these three voyevodships 2,336,200 Greek Catholics. The negligible difference of a bare 62,000 thus roughly corroborates the language statistics. But even if we take the number of Greek Catholics in Eastern Galicia as a basis to compute the number of Ukrainians in Poland, and allow further for the natural increase of the population during the intervening seven years, the number of Ukrainians living in Eastern Galicia cannot exceed now 3,600,000.

If we take the Polish element in 1931, there lived in the

Stanislawow voyevodship	246,000	Poles, *i.e.*	16	per cent.
Tarnopol "	586,000	" "	36.7	"
Lwow "	1,448,000	" "	46.3	"

Finally there are the Jews, who form about 15 per cent. of the population in each of the three voyevodships. As they are, however, a predominantly urban population, they form about thirty per cent. of the inhabitants of the towns.

Apart from Eastern Galicia the Ukrainian element lives also in the Volhynnia voyevodship where they number 1,426,900, that is 68.4 per cent. of the total inhabitants of that province. If we take into account the natural increase of the population, the highest number of Ukrainians in Volhynnia does not exceed now 1,600,000. But there is an essential difference between the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia and those in Volhynnia. The former are Greek Catholics, the latter belong to the Russian Orthodox Church. The Greek Catholic denomination helped to awaken the national consciousness of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, and their attachment to their Church is very similar to the attachment of Ulster to the Protestant faith. Actually, as the Greek Catholic faith is only a variation of the Roman Catholic faith—and recognizes the authority of the Pope in Rome, the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia are, in regard to

religion, much nearer to the Poles than to the Ukrainians in Volhynnia who, like the 35 millions of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union, profess the Russian Orthodox religion.

Certainly, it would reflect on the national consciousness of the Ukrainians in Poland if at a time when the principles of self-determination find a ready ear in the international forum, they did not put forward their own demands. But those self-appointed guardians who attribute everything to German intrigues do an ill service to the Ukrainian movement in Poland. To scare Europe with the bugbear of a Ukrainian war is nothing but irresponsible demagogism, especially when the folk-group purporting to be the nucleus of the Ukrainian movement is an artificial creation, a ¼-million Ruthenian woodcutters, to whom the word " Ukraine " has never conveyed any meaning at all—living in a small mountainous area pompously described as Carpathian Ukraine, only because certain interested forces have let loose in Chust a few scores of agitators who are in their pay. A national movement that could lead to the creation of an independent Ukraine could start only in Kieff, the capital of the ethnographic Ukraine. All attempts at creating an artificial Ukraine by hetmans and generals like Skoropadski, Popoff, Razumovsky and the like are wanton actions, which unnecessarily scare an anxious Europe. As regards Kieff and the Ukraine proper, there is little evidence that national consciousness has matured to such an extent that the idea of an independent Ukraine could soon materialize. In any case there can be no doubt that Poland will not allow herself to be dragged into any Ukrainian adventure. Poland has had the experience of the Petlura movement, which failed to show that the Ukrainian people were ripe to attain independent nationhood. Neither will Poland tolerate any intrigues coming from an artificial creation like the Carpathian Ukraine, which, being unable to radiate towards the Ukraine proper, where it can find no basis whatever, makes efforts to penetrate over the Carpathian mountains into Eastern Galicia.

Polish policy will therefore tend in 1939, as it did in 1938, and perhaps even more so, to maintain the balance between Germany and Russia, to be on good terms with both States and not to do anything that could commit Poland onesidedly to Moscow or Berlin.

RUTHENIA TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By Henry Baerlein

WHEN the subtle, and sometimes too subtle, Colonel Beck went down to see King Carol about the future of Ruthenia (alias Podkarpatská Rus, the eastern wedge of Czechoslovakia) he offered to Rumania seventeen Ruthenian villages if she would support the Poles and the Hungarians in their demand to have a common frontier. Very much to his credit Carol declined, and Beck's subsequent bait, that Hungary would make no further Transylvanian propaganda, was equally ineffective. There are four Rumanian villages in the south-east of Ruthenia; Carol had no wish to acquire non-Rumanian villages, and he emphatically had no wish to take advantage of his old friend and ally, Czechoslovakia, in her hour of distress. Moreover, the Czechs during the last twenty years have administered Ruthenia in such an admirable way, what time they have lifted the Ruthenes out of the primeval condition in which Hungary left them for a thousand years, that the vast majority of the inhabitants desired to remain in the Czechoslovak Republic. But when the Foreign Ministers of Germany and Italy sat in judgment on Ruthenia the Ruthenes were merely told of the decision. When Count Ciano demanded that Uzhorod*, Mukachevo and much else should be allotted to Hungary, Herr von Ribbentrop pointed out that this was

*By the ludicrous and totally unjust allocation of Uzhorod to Hungary this town has been ruined. The population has suddenly decreased from 33,000 to about 21,000, and even the enthusiasm of the Hungarian minority has evaporated. They were accustomed to the civilized Czechs, whereas the Hungarians have made no attempt to conciliate the people. Out of many deplorable incidents which have occurred I have only space for one. A party of officers were at the Korona, the chief hotel. One of them took out a cigarette and Belagyi, the head waiter, whom I have known for years, lit him a match. "I don't take a light from a Jew!" exclaimed the officer and kicked him so severely that he broke his leg. Belagyi, who by the way is not a Jew, is now lying in hospital. I am sorry that I have not yet heard that the officer (who was not drunk at the time) has been cashiered. "You may rest assured," said Admiral Horthy, the Regent, when on November 11 last he rode into the regional territory on his white charger, "that the sympathy and affection of the whole Hungarian nation will guarantee you a higher standard of life as well as the free development of your culture".

excessive and not in accordance with the German proposal that the division should be ethnical. Ciano threatened to go back to Rome. Had not Italy backed the Germans in the Sudeten region where the ethnical principle was frequently ignored if a coal mine or a railway junction happened to attract the cupidity of the Nazis? And, so that the precious Rome-Berlin axis should not be broken, Ribbentrop was obliged to agree to a good deal of injustice in Ruthenia.

Even so the Hungarian Government is not satisfied. They have not obtained the whole of Ruthenia nor the common frontier with the Poles. And so the shop-windows of Budapest are displaying a coloured map with inscriptions in several languages, to the effect that in Northern Hungary some 3,700,000 Hungarians, Slovaks and Ruthenes had groaned under the oppressive Czech rule. A certain amount of licence must always be permitted to those who deal in propaganda, but if one asserts the exact opposite of the truth one should remember that there are such things as boomerangs.

Here are a few details: prior to the war there was only one school in the whole of Ruthenia in which half the instruction was given in the Ruthene language, now there are Ruthene schools all over the province, and the Teachers' Institute at Uzhorod, presided over until last autumn by Mgr. Volosin (now Prime Minister of Ruthenia) was unable, when I went through it two years ago, to take more than another 45 out of 147 candidates. There are boys who think it oppressive that they are required to become literate, and perhaps that is one of the reasons why Budapest denounces the Czechs. Under the Hungarian *régime* the population was encouraged, or at any rate not discouraged, in the matter of vile spirits. They drank, and their health deteriorated. Under the Czechs these spirits were not forbidden, as human nature yearns for forbidden fruit; they were made more expensive, while good beer was everywhere made available. Do the Hungarians argue that to make those spirits more expensive was an oppressive regulation? Again, the swamps of the low country had not been drained before the arrival of the Czechs, and I am sure the mosquitoes consider this extremely oppressive. There was a terrible scarcity of hospitals in Ruthenia before the war, so that their establishment by the

Czechs seemed to the people very strange ; they were at first as frightened of being carried off to a hospital as were Londoners 800 years ago when they rarely emerged from St. Bartholomew's except in a coffin. No doubt for a time the Ruthene peasants thought it oppressive that they should be driven away in a Czech ambulance. Before the war Uzhorod and Mukachevo were large, dirty villages ; now they have been embellished beyond recognition, and many splendid buildings have arisen. But it was said of Sir John Vanbrugh when he built Blenheim that he laid a heavy burden on the earth beneath it, and so the Hungarians complain that the earth of Ruthenia is oppressed.

Practically all the Ruthenes would have preferred to remain in Czechoslovakia, which gave them not only bridges and roads and schools of every description but a measure of autonomy. A council of eighteen members was honestly and secretly elected, so that the German minority was represented by two and the Hungarian by three members. Once a month it met at Uzhorod. . . Yet here and there a Ruthene was, apparently for personal reasons, no friend of the Czechs ; and unfortunately, when the Czechs had their hands more than full with the Sudeten question, two of those self-seeking Ruthenes were appointed by Prague to be Ministers. One of them, Dr. Brody, is alleged to have immediately sold himself to the Hungarians for a cheque of two million pengoes (about £80,000) which he rather amateurishly tried to negotiate, with the result that he was imprisoned, but at the New Year was amnestied to please the Hungarian Government. Let him be judged by his own conscience. A writer in the *Danubian Review*, an official Hungarian organ, complained that poor Brody "has been rewarded with a bed in the hospital of the Pankrác prison in Prague for his brave fight for Ruthenian self-determination ". Then there is Stephen Fencik, who now addresses the world from the radio station in Budapest, proclaiming " to President Roosevelt and also the heads of all the European Great Powers " that he represents the Ruthenes of America and that the Ruthenian people desire to join Hungary, provided they receive (which of course they will not) full autonomy. When I met this man in Uzhorod, his native place, he made upon me a lamentable impression ; nor was he liked by the United States authorities who expelled him from that

country. Another foreign supporter of the Hungarian claim to Ruthenia—Mr. C. A. Macartney—says that the export of timber from Ruthenia to Hungary has gravely diminished since the War. I found, on the contrary, that it has largely increased, and this I ascertained at Rachov, the headquarters of the eastern Ruthenian forests. And now that Germany will appropriate most of Austria's timber Hungary will be more than ever dependent on Ruthenia. More recently the author of *Hungary and her Successors* has dissociated himself from those whom he calls the extreme Nationalists of Budapest who believe that economic stress will bring back Ruthenia to the Hungarian fold. "These calculations", says Mr. Macartney, "are probably mistaken". There need be no economic stress, for the forests are of tremendous value. Owing to them there is no unemployment in Ruthenia, and in addition a cellulose factory may be built in the province.

The rulers of Hungary have affirmed that they are convinced of the devotion of the Ruthenes. But in order to make sure Hungary was employing propaganda in the autumn of 1938, the propaganda of revolution and bomb. Armed bands of Hungarians were constantly crossing the frontier, and many of them were incarcerated by the Czechoslovak police. On December 31 last 370 of these irregulars were handed back to the Hungarian authorities. . . . A peculiar kind of propaganda has also of late been employed by the Poles who have been sending detachments of soldiers, led by an officer, to seize the Ruthene forest workers in the vicinity of the frontier, then to drag them across the frontier and with menaces compel them to assert that they wish for the absorption of Ruthenia by Poland or Hungary. That is the way in which self-determination is understood by the Poles! Since they do not hesitate to transact this kind of business while clad in their military uniforms and do not seem to think that the uniform is thereby disgraced, they have evidently no very high opinion of the repute which that uniform enjoys in the world.

The Poles, of course, are not merely impelled by their affection for the Magyars. Some years ago Mr. F. A. Voigt wrote a memorable series of articles in the *Manchester Guardian* on the treatment of the Ukrainians in the south-east of Poland. It

would seem that these brutal methods have been practically discarded, but that the four or five million Ukrainians in Poland do not feel as if they were in Paradise ; and it will be irksome for the Polish Government that this minority should perceive another Ukrainian population (for the Ruthenes are Ukrainians) living in much happier circumstances than themselves.

That the Ruthenes are Ukrainians was made palpable early in 1919 at Jasina close to the Polish frontier. The Jasina Republic was established ; it hoped to be the Piedmont of Great Ukrainia. For a time everything went well, more than well, seeing that the Finance Minister—*o si sic omnes*—who was a Jew called Mr. Rath, ran the State perfectly and levied no taxes. (He derived the necessary income from the sale of timber). But the dream of Great Ukrainia had to be abandoned when an overwhelming number of that people found themselves in the embrace of Russia and Poland.

And there is another who for years has been dreaming of Great Ukrainia, the author of *Mein Kampf*. At this moment there are in Chust, the village capital, and in the rest of the small territory of Ruthenia no less than forty Germans, under a Consul-General and a Secretary who till now was in their Prague Legation. They are doing their utmost, backed up by all kinds of arguments, financial and others, to make the Ruthenes long for this Great Ukrainia, and no doubt a supply of emissaries is being sent into Poland and Russia. Who can tell whether Colonel Beck has not been too late in turning to Moscow ?

STORM OVER EAST ANGLIA

By S. L. Bensusan

PROSPERITY does not care to associate with the rank and file of farmers; she selects a few who combine three-decker brains and first-class land with abundant capital, content to dwell with them and be their love. For the rank and file, prosperity is a name. Rules, regulations, subsidies, restrictions are the outward and visible signs of the Government's interest, but alas! farmers cannot live by forms alone, and subsidies, though very considerable, have not brought adequate relief.

In the olden days when trouble came to the farmers they could pass the worst of it on to those who worked for them. The writer can remember when a labourer's wage was ten shillings a week, with deductions for bad weather, almost unlimited hours and no half holidays. Agricultural Wages Boards have dispelled that nightmare, while Old Age Pensions and unemployment benefit have wrought changes that only those who are growing old can estimate. There is another side indeed to this record of improvement. "I work as hard as my two men do," said a small farmer to the writer not very long ago, "but while they take thirty-three shillings a piece, there isn't as much left over for me."

We have had recurrent crises since the Corn Production Act was killed shortly after birth, and they are apparently destined to be perennial, for no Government dares consider large-scale production. Professor Stapledon went far to present the country with many millions of additional acres when he pointed out that our hill land can be cultivated up to the 1,500-feet level. The Government presented him with a knighthood by way of acknowledgment, but those acres remain uncultivated.

We have two million unemployed, and there is under-nourishment on what might be called a national scale. But we

are told that, if we produced all the food we need, we should die of starvation. Apparently there are higher considerations than barren acres and empty stomachs.

The position of successive Governments has not suffered very much change. One and all have been out to buy food in the cheapest markets abroad, while proclaiming an affectionate regard for home producers : the fellows have votes.

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But our farmers are on the move. On February 1st East Anglian husbandmen threaten to stage a great protest parade in the streets of London. Why, at the time of writing, do they propose to leave their tranquil countryside, their yet unspoilt counties, to visit the Metropolis, " now that the fields are dank, and ways are mire "? What are their grievances—and still more to the point what is their voting strength ? Have they or have they not been able to see themselves as small cogs in a vast machine that has to survey creation from the stratosphere to the Antipodes ?

That their plight is desperate, and their grievances real, may be gathered from the fact that in the past months, good growing land (subject to tithe) has been sold in Suffolk for less than five pounds an acre, while the Forestry Commission is planting with trees land that has raised, and could still raise, excellent crops, and must now be lost so far as food production is concerned.

It may be that many of the farmer's troubles are due to the transitional period through which we are passing. Remember, he is a blunt man, concerned with growing corn, or producing milk or beef. He finds to-day all manner of conditions unheard-of five and twenty years ago. He cannot readily understand that the restrictions are the price which he pays for a measure of protection that can only benefit the best farmers, while touching the rank and file very lightly and giving nothing to the hand-to-mouth, rule-of-thumb men. They are folk who deserve better luck ; simple livers, hard workers, content with a little, and ready to work for it.

The farmers of Essex and East Anglia have very definite grievances. This year has seen yields well above the average of wheat, barley, oats and mixed corn. East Anglia barley growers have averaged 18 cwt. to the acre against 14 cwt. in

1937. Wheatgrowers have raised rather more than a ton an acre against 16 cwt. in 1937. They have their subsidy, and are not dissatisfied. But the growers of barley declare that the Government imported upwards of 100,000 additional tons during the four summer months of 1938, when it was reasonably clear that the British crop would be exceptional and that not far short of a million acres were sown. Consequently, while the market price is said to have slumped by a pound a quarter, many farmers have found their crop unsaleable. The Government's grant-in-aid is now £1 per acre of the farmer's barley acreage, if he does not claim for his wheat.

Representatives of the Government declare that the country subscribes fifteen millions a year to subsidizing the farm. Indignant East Anglians reply that, in spite of this, the offer of something less than half a million pounds in aid of barley growers is very paltry in view of the enormous sum collected by the Governments from beer.

The low price of sheep is another serious blow to East Anglia, and sugar beet is expected to average no more than seven tons to the acre—not much more than half the yield in certain countries where soil or method appears to be better than ours. Another point raised by the angry farmers of East Anglia is that upwards of 3,000,000 acres have been lost to the plough in the past twenty years, while the ranks of agricultural workers, whole and part time, have been reduced by 100,000 since 1930.

The waters of East Anglia are very troubled, perhaps that is why certain adventurous elements are fishing in them. Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex farmers at least, would appear to hold the opinion that the National Government and its Minister of Agriculture have failed to do their duty, and should not be supported any more.

They put forward many suggestions, among them a Government subsidy of a pound a week for every worker employed, such worker's money to be raised to £2 a week. They ask that the forces of the Crown should be supplied with English meat, that any subsidy on barley should not exclude the subsidy on wheat, that only English barley should be used for malting, provided that the samples are good; and generally that

production should be on a paying basis, stimulated rather than restrained.

It is reasonably clear that not even a march on London will avail to obtain these concessions, but a revolt throughout arable England against the Government would certainly prove embarrassing to an administration of limited popularity that is not in a state to suffer further shocks.

Perhaps farming can be helped in less direct fashion. There are many unpopular ways in which the position of the industry might be improved. For example, it should be possible to take from the distributor a part of the profits that he extracts from handling the produce of the farm.

It is said by those who have worked the figures out that the five hundred million pounds worth of goods produced at home and abroad for the English market costs nearly seven hundred million pounds more by the time it reaches the consumer ; that the distributor of milk, for example, gets twice as much as the farmer who consigns it to the depots. In short it is held, by the vulgar at least, that the price of beef soars far too high above the price of bullock and of cows—and that during the slump in the price of sheep the butcher should have shown less consideration in keeping the news from customers. They at least have been allowed to pay as though sheep were in enormous demand, and very hard to come by ; people say that the distributor exercises his ingenuity by robbing the producer and the consumer in turn. Certain Commissions have come to conclusions that do not run counter to these beliefs, but we are assured by the middlemen themselves that they are of inestimable value to the community and worth even more than they cost ! Who shall decide when experts disagree so fundamentally ?

Impatient producers are apt to forget that the countless intermediaries are men, brothers and voters. If they do forget, no Government will do so. One milker may collect sufficient milk for three retailers to distribute, but each distributor has to live—or at least is of that opinion.

In his new book " A Policy for British Agriculture," Lord Addison writes : " Our natural advantages are so great that the present distresses of agriculture must indicate serious follies

or mistakes in the system we live under." This sentence is worth pondering, for while politicians are many, statesmen are few, and Lord Addison is a statesman of proved ability in many spheres of public life ; he has also looked at Agriculture from Downing Street. " Agriculture is more than a group of industries," he says, " it is a life."

Writing before any definite action has been taken, and before the result of the Norfolk by-election is known, it is safe to predict that no march on London—even with the support of outside elements—will do very much for agriculture ; the industry can hardly be well served in this fashion. What is wanted, and not only in East Anglia, is a defined and stable policy that would enable the country to ascertain the Government's considered opinion and wishes. And that policy must be based on the answers to the following questions : What proportion of the country's food are the farmers expected to raise (*a*) in normal times (*b*) in seasons of crisis? What steps are proposed to throw Nature out of her stride in the event of emergencies, for which her normal paces are too slow ? What agricultural population does the Government wish to retain on the land ? How many million acres is it content to leave (*a*) derelict, (*b*) extensively farmed ? How much is to be intensively cultivated ? What crops does it wish to see produced (*a*) abundantly, (*b*) sparingly, (*c*) not at all ? Is it prepared to guarantee that necessary crops, properly grown, are not produced at a loss, by reason of sudden imports ? What is the proper balance (in the Government's opinion) between farm and country, industry and food production ?

These are simple questions enough, but it may be doubted whether there is any direct and unequivocal answer to them. Without an answer, how is the farmer to know where he stands ?

There would be no need for alarums, and still less for mid-winter excursions, if the Government would proclaim a policy that was definite and free from circumlocution. " There never has been a *national* policy for agriculture," says Lord Addison. " Agriculture is always at the bottom of the agenda when the Cabinet meets," said another Minister to the writer. No action from the top has availed to bring producer and consumer together. Middlemen have increased from one million to two and over in fifteen years ; in three years of the beef subsidy Government

spent 10½ millions, of which only four reached the producer; our milk is said to be the dearest in Europe.

These are the farmers' proper grievances. The pigeons that swoop down on the crops at this season are less numerous than the middlemen who lie in wait for them. The plight of the farmers of East Anglia is a part of the plight of agriculture in England. It cannot be cured by association with black shirts, on the one hand, or red flags on the other. It arises from lack of an ordered policy that all who farm may understand.

Only optimists can expect an agricultural policy to proceed from the hastily summoned inter-departmental committee, as Athene issued from the brain of Zeus. Some temporary expedients sufficient to quell the East Anglia revolt and to safeguard forthcoming elections may be announced in an interim statement when the House re-assembles on January 31st, but it is only by deciding how far the land and the people can be brought together, in short by answering the questions set out on a previous page that the farmer will know where he stands. Proposals that merely meet impending crisis can be of no lasting validity or worth. What we need most in this country is to divorce agriculture from politics and reach a planned production by common consent. When this principle has been established all the details can be worked out and all the anomalies removed at leisure. The disease from which our agriculture is suffering is deep-seated, and the remedy must be far-reaching. A little improvement in prices may avail to keep the wolf from the farmer's door, but it will not keep that door on its hinges. In other words you cannot cure a landslide by the aid of a bottle of patent medicine, even if it be prescribed by the most skilled practitioners in Downing Street and Whitehall Place.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING

By L. W. Clarke

"OF a great part of the learning now in fashion in the schools of Europe . . . a gentleman may in good measure be unfurnished with, without any great disparagement to himself or prejudice to his affairs". What Locke wrote in 1693 is still true in 1939; and, though we may have very strong feelings about what is now being taught in various parts of the Continent, if we substitute "Great Britain" for "Europe", the truth remains. It is a historic occasion when some appreciation of the essential difference between education and schooling is shown by an august official body, as is the case with the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education which has lately issued its report.

Secondary Education as it exists to-day in this country is of quite recent growth, although its origins lie very far back. The description "secondary" as applied to schools strictly denotes, of course, all those schools which are offering an education, of whatever type, beyond the primary stage; but in common usage, the term is now used mainly with reference to the day-schools maintained by Local Authorities offering a post-primary education, and which, a few decades ago, were frequently known as "High Schools". The great majority of these schools have come into being since the Education Act of 1902. Such of them as were founded before the passing of this Act, have, with very few exceptions, passed under State and Local Government control since that time. The Act of 1902 was an inevitable sequel to the previous Education Act of 1870, by which the State assumed control of Elementary Education in this country. It was natural that many parents wished their children's education to continue beyond the stage possible in elementary schools, but the opportunities for such further education were few. 'Public School' costs were in most cases prohibitive, and,

although Endowed Grammar Schools existed in many places, their accommodation was limited. In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century the new " High Schools " began to appear, usually as a result of private initiative. Eventually the State recognized that these schools were fulfilling a need and assumed its rightful responsibility in the matter by giving authority to Counties and County Boroughs to spend money on education " other than elementary ". The impetus which this 1902 Act has given to Secondary Education may be judged from the fact that in 1904 the number of schools qualified for grant under the Act, in England and Wales, was 575, while to-day the number is just short of 1400.

When these schools came into being, the question as to what they should teach was not long debated. The model was there and the model was copied. The nine great Public Schools and their younger brethren had long been offering an education with the classical languages as its basis ; this curriculum, into which there had filtered comparatively recently some mathematics and science, was adopted, and the secondary schools proceeded to give a " liberal " education. In fact, they laid the foundations for the eventual entry of all their pupils into a University—although very few of the pupils intended to take a University course and only some three to four per cent. have ever done so. The great majority of secondary school pupils, who leave the school when they are between the ages of 16 and 17, become insurance officials, stockbrokers' clerks, bank clerks, civil servants, local government officers, and the like ; yet all receive a school training appropriate only to the potential university student. Quite naturally, and with very little detriment to themselves, they forget most of what they have been taught a few months after leaving school.

Aristotle defined a liberal education as one suitable for free men. He would not allow its curriculum to contain any subject from which mercenary advantage could be gained. All knowledge from which material profit could be obtained he classed as the illiberal arts, and regarded as suitable only for serfs. Though it has changed in detail, our present curriculum is basically that regarded as ideal by the Greeks ; but our modern boy and girl have to take their places in a very material

and very mercenary world, and the time for a change in educational outlook is long overdue.

With the vast increase in the extent of teaching at the secondary stage, it cannot be denied that very great improvements in the methods of teaching have resulted. With few exceptions, each subject is taught by a specialist who is highly competent to teach in that subject. But the system is not without its evils. It is, perhaps, not to be wondered at, that specialist teachers are apt to take a narrow view, and to " push " their own subjects up to, and often beyond, the receptive capacities of their pupils. Nevertheless, a small but increasing number of the younger secondary school teachers, who prefer to regard themselves primarily as educators, and only by force of circumstances as teachers of particular subjects, have been trying to interpret the word " liberal " in its more modern sense, and to divorce it from its root-meaning. They have tried to teach their subject, whatever it may be, so that it will have some bearing on the future life of their pupils. This can be done, and is done, not necessarily with any vocational bias, but so that the information given may form part of the knowledge of any man or woman in a shape which can be remembered—and is worth remembering. To put it shortly, they are trying to educate for citizenship.

That these individualists have not been alone in the opinions they have formed is now adequately shown by the Spens Report. We are at last given *carte blanche* to teach the child and not the subject ; and between those two radically different approaches to the same task lies all the difference between instruction and education. It has been said that it does not matter what you teach a boy so long as he dislikes it. No statement was ever more fallacious ; but it is true that it does not matter what you teach a boy, you can make him like it—provided that you teach it for the sake of the boy and not for the sake of the subject.

Adherents of the present system warn us that a serious danger is inherent in our new doctrine ; namely, that we cannot, by practising it, ensure an " ordered knowledge " in the minds of our pupils. To that it may be answered at once that our objective is different from theirs. We recognize from the

start that we are out to teach children of whom the majority will terminate their formal education at 16 or 17. We contend that a more scattered knowledge which can be put to real use is of far more value than a complete knowledge of the mere elements. The roots of a tree are of little value without the stem and branch, and one can enjoy the fruits even if one isn't quite sure how they grew. If the object were that formerly assumed, to prepare students for a subsequent University course, then certainly the subjective method may be adopted—provided that the pupils who are to be taught in this way have been specially selected, and have the avowed purpose of going to a University. The small percentage of pupils who will eventually proceed to a University may suffer very slightly if all pupils are taught by the scheme advocated; but only very slightly, as they will have two years' teaching after the age of 16 for the proper co-ordination of knowledge in the subjects they choose. Moreover, the disadvantage to the subjects of their choice will be more than compensated by the broader outlook they will obtain. Too often one finds that the young graduate has regarded his subject merely as a means to an examination and a degree, and is almost oblivious of its wider associations.

The underlying principle in secondary teaching hitherto has been the training of the faculties. It is assumed that every child has certain latent faculties which can be discovered and exercised by the subjects which he is taught. Thus, for instance, Geometry has been taught mainly in its theoretical aspect, as a subject which is built up on rigorous logic, providing a training in deductive reasoning. Perhaps a little of the deductive method here learned is transferred by the pupil, and later by the man or woman, to problems in life entirely unconnected with the subject in which it was acquired, but to what extent it is impossible to discover. There is, in fact, evidence to show that schoolboy Geometry receives more assistance from the logic of everyday affairs than it gives to it. Why not, then, teach Geometry for its practical value? It matters little to the builder or architect whether he can prove that the opposite sides of a parallelogram are equal, but it does matter enormously to him that they *are* equal. It matters almost as much to the future inhabitant of the house that they will between them

build. No building can be erected, no piece of machinery made, in fact no constructional work of any sort be done without a very considerable knowledge of the practical side of Geometry; yet few children are brought into contact with the directly useful aspect of the work they do in this subject. Science teaching, also, tends to obscure the hundreds of everyday examples of the application of simple scientific facts. Many a schoolboy and ex-schoolboy who once was taught all about convection currents, hasn't the least idea how the hot-water system in his own house works, or why it works. Let the idea of convection currents be incidental to the hot-water system, and the boy will never forget them; but if the hot-water system gets, at best, a mere mention as an application of convection currents, both will be forgotten. Of late years the School Certificate Examinations have introduced papers in General Science, in which questions are asked on the bearing of simple scientific facts on common phenomena, but it is a revealing fact that in many schools these papers are regarded rather contemptuously, and if used at all, only the weaker candidates are entered for them.

The most lamentable case of failure in our present system of formal teaching is to be found in the realm of English Literature. The " set-book " system at present imposed upon the curriculum by the examinations is damnable. In the words of a certain professor of English, " The only way to enjoy English Literature is to wallow in it ". The schoolboy is encouraged merely to sip and is then systematically frightened off, not by the feast itself, but by the seasoning. Who could view *The Merchant of Venice* with anything but loathing after studying it in minute detail for a whole year and then being asked such questions as " Estimate the characters of either Gratiano or Jessica, and say how much each contributes to the plot" ? The Spens Report recommends the total abolition of the set-book system for examination purposes. Let us hope that this will be among the first of its recommendations to be carried into effect. In English Literature more than in any other subject, have the teachers themselves perceived the inadequacy of the formal teaching which they must perforce give, as the Play Reading Societies and Literary Societies which exist in many schools testify—often, incidentally, under the supervision of teachers whose

speciality is not Literature. The enthusiasm displayed by the pupils in and for these societies indicate fully that here is where most of the valuable contact with Literature is obtained. The work now carried on by these societies should become the major part of the English curriculum, and not be left merely to be done as extras after school hours. In case the barrier of expense should be erected against the children " wallowing " thoroughly. let it be remembered that many Education Authorities already pay the cost of books for pupils in their schools. Instead of, as at present, buying vast numbers of *Richard II.* for every school in their areas (because *Richard II.* happens to be the " set-book " for the year, and is scrapped after it), let them buy dozens of sets of different books and run a library system—each set remaining in a school for as long as required and then being exchanged for another set. The cost will certainly be no more than is the case now.

In what I have written here so far I have made no mention of Secondary Education in Scotland. The organization of all Scottish education is separate from that of England and Wales, and there are considerable differences in the conditions obtaining. A larger proportion of Scottish children proceed to post-primary schools than is the case south of the Border (thanks, in some measure, to Carnegie). About 24 per cent. of Scottish children receive secondary education as compared with about 16 per cent. in England and Wales. The type of education given in the Scottish Academies and the requirements of the Scottish Leaving Certificate, indicate an even greater adherence to the traditional classical education than in England. The Scot has a great reverence for " schooling " whether that schooling is at the same time educating or not. If there is no provision in the district for his son to " get Latin ", the Scotsman soon voices his discontent ; the impression seems to be that a superficial knowledge of the elements of Latin is a mark of culture, irrespective of whether the boy or girl can make any use of it at all. Latin is gradually assuming its rightful place in English secondary schools. It has until recently been taught as a means of reading the classical authors, and probably there is no school subject in which the end is more remote. No child by the age of sixteen can hope to acquire sufficient Latin to derive any

profit from reading the Latin authors. It so happens, that when taught for this purpose, the subject stops short at the school leaving age, and the pupil's time spent on learning the elements has been largely wasted. If taught to show its vast influence on English Literature, both in word derivation and in classical allusion, and, by means of Roman History, to show the great effect of Roman civilization upon our own, then the value of Latin is evident. Scottish school mathematics, too, is taught even more from the faculty-training point of view than in English schools. Euclid's form of geometrical proposition has been considerably watered down for the English boy, but the departure from Euclid is much less pronounced in Scotland, insomuch that the writer of text-books who hopes for a sale to Scottish schools must include a special appendix, or publish a separate Scottish edition.

In case it should appear that my criticism of the training given in our secondary schools is entirely destructive, let me say at once that they are providing a vast amount of real and good education. At present, though, a good deal of the education, as opposed to instruction, is proceeding out of school hours through the many external activities arranged by the teachers for the benefit of the children. The Spens Report opens the way for the methods and atmosphere of these activities to find a place in the classroom. Let us hope that the principles it advocates will be rapidly adopted. There is still time to save this country from a blind subservience to mere schooling.

BEGGARS ON HORSEBACK—*A Story*

By Marghanita Laski

IN the smoky good-fellowship of the Three Feathers, Mr. Bilkins was happy. This is the Life, he said to himself, as he lifted his pewter mug to his lips, comfortably aware that the Morris was waiting to take him to Ipswich and eventually to Le Nid at Norbiton. This is the Life, he repeated, meaning the self-conscious descent from the Commercial Room to the Bar, to the darts, to the mingling with the yokels and ' back to the earth '. There's not many men in my line, thought Mr. Bilkins with gratification, who'd think to step into the Taproom and see a bit of Life.

" What's yours, Mr. Bilkins " ? said Josiah Pennyfeather who owned the inn and realized that these commercial gents liked to throw their money round a bit if they were treated as ' one of the chaps '.

" Out of the barrel for me, old boy ", said Mr. Bilkins with grateful pleasure. " Don't often taste draught like this. I wish I could get it in Town ".

Suddenly a horse stood beside Mr. Bilkins; a slightly disreputable, knee-knocking brown horse.

For a moment there was silence in the bar.

Then " 'Oo brought that in " ? shouted Josiah Pennyfeather.

The horse gave a broken unhappy neigh and nuzzled its head into Mr. Bilkins' elbow.

The silence broke into confused uproar. Everyone was talking, pointing, screaming at Mr. Bilkins, who stood isolated with the horse beside the bar.

" Take yer 'orse out of 'ere! " shouted Josiah Pennyfeather, now completely beyond control. " Ought to know better than to go bringing a norse into a respectable bar "!

The horse was still nuzzling Mr. Bilkins' elbow. With a shudder he edged away from it. " It's not my horse "! he screamed, " It's not my horse "!

As if to belie his words the horse sidled up to him again.

" Well, it ain't no one else's ", said Josiah, breathing heavily. " You take it out of 'ere and yerself too. I wish you'd never come barging into what *was* a respectable bar ".

Behind the bar stood a carthorse, a sleek enormous carthorse, its massy rump pressing creakingly into the gimcrack wood.

Someone laughed hysterically.

Slowly the bar shattered, fell in pieces to the ground.

" 'Tis Farmer Barton's Suffolk Punch ", said a voice.

Indignant disclaimers shouted, no, that it wasn't—that wasn't Farmer Barton's Nell.

The carthorse neighed triumphantly.

* * * * *

" Can't you see, dear " ? asked Lady Brakewaite plaintively, " that your father and I are only acting for your good ? "

" No ", said Moira sullenly.

Lady Brakewaite sighed. " I don't want to spoil your fun ", she said gently, " but surely you want men to respect you, not to look on you like they do at that fast Swinton girl ".

Moira thought longingly of Peggy Swinton, and said defiantly, " Men don't not respect her ".

" You must allow *me* to be the best judge of that ", said Lady Brakewaite with dignity. " In any case, it's no use your arguing, I've made up my mind. Not half an inch lower shall that neck be cut ; and I wish you'd try to co-operate with us instead of always fighting us ".

Suddenly she screamed shrilly " Who brought that horse in here " ?

* * * * *

" Ooo, how I love you ", breathed Hector.

" And Margie loves her Lollipop ", whispered his wife.

" And Margie won't let it make any difference to her loving her Lollipop " ?

" How could Margie let it make any difference when her Lollipop gave it her " ?

He kissed her tenderly and whispered " I wish we could be sure it would be a He ".

Beside the bed stood a little long-legged shivering colt.

* * * * *

According to the *Daily Mail* next morning there was scarcely a home in England in which one or more horses had not miraculously appeared during the night. *The Times* was more restrained; beyond a two-line report of an unconfirmed rumour it made no mention of the occurrence.

The evening papers carried shrieking posters "Horses Stampede In French Chamber", "Horses Cross Frontier: Official", and, more locally, "Marylebone Horse Jumps Statue", "Beverley Nichols says: Why Horses"? and "Horse Adopted by Frinton Family".

By the next morning it was impossible to doubt that something very extraordinary was going on.

By the day after the Horse Manifestations had become an International Problem.

For horses were appearing everywhere and all the time. Reports came in of liners, horse-crammed from poop to stern, of horses appearing amazingly in Board-meetings, 'buses and trams. There seemed no place in all the world free from the sudden appearance of horses. For the first time in his life the Man in the Street could actually see what the papers were talking about.

It was left to a Swiss Professor to make the discovery that the horses invariably seemed to be the result of a wish verbally expressed. After this, pandemonium broke loose. The occasion demanded, of course, a learned letter to *The Times*.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

Dear Sir,

This morning, while performing my customary ablutions, I inadvertently expressed a wish that I have neither space nor inclination to enlarge upon in your hospitable colums. I may, however, remark that immediately afterwards I found in the bath in proximity to my left knee a *Hippocampus* or, as it is popularly known, a Sea-Horse. Closer examination of this creature convinced me that it was of the species known as *Solenognathus*, hitherto supposed to be peculiar to the coasts of China and Australia and habitually attaining a length of nearly two feet. The *Hippocampus* in question measured exactly seventeen and one half inches. I wonder if any of your readers have had a similar experience?

May I further trespass upon your kindness and recall the old Lancashire folk-rhyme,

'T'oss bin rampin' in t'ay, läad,
T'oss bin gaudin' an' freckit'.

I should be grateful if any of your readers could supply me with variants of this.

The Rectory,
Shaw-cum-Hardy.

Yours, etc.,
T. Murples (B.A. Liverpool).

* * *

One by one, more or less creakingly, the Governments of the world began to act. In Germany citizens were urged to wish horses for all they were worth, fine upstanding Aryan horses that would give Germany equine preponderance over the rest of the world. England and France, and after a period of doubt and apprehension the remaining States of Central and South-Eastern Europe, passed laws forbidding under pain of stringent punishments—it was rumoured that Rumania applied the death-penalty—any man, woman or child to make a wish.

At this the Vatican stepped in. It was obvious, pronounced His Holiness in an Encyclical, that the horse was the direct production of man and therefore in some measure contained man's immortal soul. Thus the artificial prevention of horse-appearance, he concluded, was tantamount to the murder of an immortal soul that might have been a race-course winner, and so was a sin against the Almighty.

There were other protests against this legislation. In England the Communists proclaimed that the appearance of the horse denoted the Urge of Nature to Communism, the Natural Law that all men were equal and now could be equal in horse-ownership. Unfortunately this theory was exploded by the publication of a report of the Soviet Horse, which described it as a five-toed animal and an obvious throwback to the original Prehistoric Horse.

But legislation could not prevent the production of horses. Man's centuries of wishing had produced a habit so deeply ingrained that some swore it was an instinct. Few will forget that terrible morning when it seemed that the Law of Averages broke down, and all the horses in London that day appeared simultaneously in Praed Street, Paddington. Indescribable scenes of carnage and slaughter were the inevitable result.

" But how ", men asked, " can we be expected to refrain from wishing, when even in Parliament horses occasionally appear " ? For there were few who disbelieved the rumour, assiduously put about by the Opposition, that horses had been known to manifest themselves in Cabinet meetings, and that one Minister, as a result of too great equine fecundity, had been requested to hand in his resignation.

Then there was the scandal of Lady Rumpleton, the celebrated feminist M.P., who stated publicly that she wished that men would eschew swearing and strong drink and bring their wages home to their wives. It was quarter of an hour before the chairman of the meeting could reach her through the confusion of clothes-horses with which she was suddenly surrounded.

And few will forget that day when the Prime Minister, speaking before a crowded House, expressed the wish that England should stand by her obligations—and produced only a Shetland pony. After this, the interconnection of character and type of horse was held to be established.

Julius Rumplebottom, Managing Director of Incorporated Industries, was the first to make a practical application of this principle. Prospective employees were led to a slaughterhouse where stood a horse-expert from Tattersall's. Here the candidate was asked to make a wish. The horse-expert then pronounced on the quality of the animal produced, which was immediately slaughtered and burnt. The Managing Director told the Press that this system gave excellent results, though rejected candidates were apt to complain that the surroundings made them nervous, and that they had produced far better horses at home.

* * * * *

" And so ", said the Voice, " this cotton pod that once blew over Indian fields is transformed by British enterprise into the finished shirt you see here before you. Wouldn't your wife like to see you in that one " ?

From coy geniality the Voice returned to the gently instructive. " Talking of shirts ", it continued amiably, " here is Miss Hetty Lingfield who can put her shirt—pardon me, chemise—on a horse that is sure to romp home a winner. Here you see her with Fiddly Dan, her wish-horse that was unanimously chosen to represent Great Britain at the World Wish-Horse Congress to be held at Pasadena. Good luck, Hetty ".

" Talking of congresses ", went on the Voice, " these monkeys . . ."

* * * * *

To many people the worst aspect of the whole business manifested itself in the various Horse Cults. In England these

took a comparatively harmless turn. Societies, mostly composed of undergraduates, were formed, whose members sat on straw in a darkened stable, chanting :

> ' Two things I know about the horse
> And one of them is rather coarse '.

over and over again till they fell on the straw in exhaustion. Only the High Ostler was said to know what the coarse thing was. As the society soon got into arrears with its straw gill, it didn't last long enough for the secret to pass to the Acting Ostler, in which case it could have been confidentially expected to get around.

These childish societies had, however, little in common with the grotesque obscenities practised under the name of Horse Cults in Berlin and the Far East. One of the more mentionable was, perhaps, that of Allahabad ; the so-called worshippers built a circular stable of reinforced concrete, stood inside and proceeded to wish, wishing until trampled to death by the products of their excessive desires. The British Government went so far as to sit on an International Commission to stop this self-immolation, but little was actually done.

* * * * *

It was about this time that a young Cambridge scientist, working in conjunction with a distinguished Oxford philologist and an anthropologist from London, produced what was undeniably the only reasonable explanation of the phenomenon. Their work published in an obscure journal under the title *Some Notes on Equine Variability* caused little stir. Yet so lucid and valid was their explanation that I feel some account of it should be given.

Briefly, it was as follows : the phenomenon, they pointed out, began exactly at the winter equinox. Now *equinox*—here the philologist stepped in—has traditionally been taken as meaning ' equal night '. He, however, adduced a new explanation, namely, that the word originally was *equine-nox* or ' Horse-night '. He recalled, as an indication that similar phrases were not unknown, that line in Marlowe's ' Doctor Faustus ', *O lente, lente, currite noctis equi*! Mind you, all three added, this proves nothing. But a careful collation of minute details—odd lines from the Bible like Isaiah ii., 7, *their land is also full of horses*—odd

facts from Sir James Frazer's 'Golden Bough', such as that both Lycurgus and Hippolytus were said to have been torn to pieces by horses, while among the Ewe-speaking people of the South Coast of Africa the King is not allowed to see any horse—these and other such details did seem to establish the fact that in the dim dark ages there had been a period on earth, a period that again coincided with the winter equinox, when such a horse-plague had previously been experienced. This being so, added the scientist, it was all a question of time and atmospheric disturbances. He ended on a note of hope, pointing out that, of fifty wish-horses he had personally examined at Saffron Walden during the past three months, there was undoubtedly a tendency among the later ones to be less virile, more lacking in stamina. He was chary of drawing conclusions from this group-test, but the scientific world was cheered.

Events rapidly began to prove him right. For a period of six months the wish-horses began to deviate strangely from the normal. Winged horses, known as Pegasuses or Pegasi, appeared. There came wooden horses with pegs in their backs, like that one spoken of by Chaucer in the Squire's Tale. Horses appeared that stood upright on solid bottoms like the knights on a chess-board. And, most interesting of all, came a crop of centaurs, male and female, unfortunately able to speak the human tongue and demand admittance to the Savoy Hotel.

And so, thank God, slowly but surely, the plague died down. Came a day when Man, open-eyed and wondering, dared to wish again, and the world, fearfully at first, began to resume its normal ways. But for a long time there was a great stench.

THE COLONIZATION OF LIBYA.

By Herbert Bailey.

I RECENTLY had the opportunity of going to Libya to see the transport, arrival, and settlement at their new farmsteads of 20,000 colonists, the first contingent of 100,000, who, during the next five years will embark upon a new life far from the places where they were born. This vast and comprehensive plan of settlement has far more significance than that of finding a new outlet for Italy's landless people. It is not only an experiment in mass emigration, but also a demonstration of Italy's determination to assert her Imperial destiny, to justify her claims to *Mare Nostrum*, and to provide a garrison which will defend Libya against potential foes from within and without.

Every art and device of propaganda was summoned to give to the colonists a sense that they were worthy descendants of the men from old Rome who had gone beyond the seas to found new settlements and to instil into them a feeling that, although they were being transported to the sands of Africa, they were not really leaving Italy. A few days before the first contingent left it was officially announced that Libya had become one of the provinces of Italy.

There was no compulsion for anybody to go. Indeed the Italian authorities were overwhelmed with applications from peasants who were attracted by the scheme, and those who were chosen had to survive a severe test to make sure that they were really capable of ensuring success for Mussolini's plan. Dictatorship cannot afford spectacular failure.

The basis of the scheme was family emigration. All the families had to be of real peasant stock, and each family had to consist of at least eight persons. I discovered on the voyage when talking to these emigrants, that the leaders of these families were in most cases young men of between twenty-one and

thirty-five years of age, all ardent Fascists, who saw in Libya a great future for themselves where they would realize every Italian peasant's dream of owning his own piece of land. These young men collected their complete families—great-grandmothers of nearly 90, sisters who had worked in shops in industrial cities, fathers who had become too old to be active Fascists or even belong to the party, babies in arms, and even expectant mothers —so they could qualify for a place in the colonization scheme. The older people were puzzled and bewildered by this sudden uprooting of their lives but to the young Fascists it was the beginning of a great adventure for which they were most grateful to Mussolini.

It was not enough, however, to be an ardent and faithful Fascist. Every member of the family had to pass three health tests. They had to be not only generally fit but to be free of tubercular and trachoma infections. All of them had to be of unimpeachable morality. They had to be politically sound, *i.e.*, they believed in the Fascist *régime*, and most of them had to be members of one or another of the various Fascist organizations. The illiterate were excluded from any participation in the scheme.

From the time that we left Genoa until the colonists entered their new homes, we lived in an unreal world of intensive propaganda. One of the leading industries of Italy must be the manufacture of the national flag, for it certainly required ten flags to every colonist to incite and stimulate their patriotism. Bands were aboard each of the ships with the exception of the flagship, the " Vulcania ", which carried Marshal Balbo, the guests and officials, and through the long journey, these bands played the many and various Fascist anthems and marches. Every emigrant bore an emblem of Fascism, a coloured scarf, a headdress or a badge, or uniform. The assembled colonists were exhorted at every convenient moment to remember the great destiny which awaited them, and how it would redound to the glory and prestige of Fascist Italy. The portrait of the Duce was everywhere ; the slogans were few, but monotonously repetitive. In the Bay of Gatea our nine shiploads consisting of 1,400 families from the North of Italy were joined by another six ships which brought with them the colonists from Central

and Southern Italy. Stretched out in line we anchored while Mussolini, aboard the cruiser " Trieste " and wearing the uniform of a Marshal of Empire, reviewed this modern Armada to the organized cheering of crews and emigrants and the strains of *Giovanezza* . . . . played by the bands. There was no great need, however, to organize the colonists' enthusiasm. They had long caught the fever of propaganda.

For me there was something emotional and pathetic in the spectacle of these colonists, many of them with furrowed faces that told of many years of toil on the land, leaving their native country never to see it again. The old men and women would die in Africa. Their graves would mark the beginning of a new habitation, while the young and the yet unborn would become Libyans. But there was no outward display of emotion on their part. Their expressions were no different from those to be found with a London family going from the Tower Bridge to Margate for the day.

When we reached Tripoli, the first port of call, the propaganda became even greater. It was not enough that they should survey a beautiful port, clean, free of beggars, and exhibiting every worth-while phase of African life, but they were invited to see the unveiling by Marshal Balbo of a statue of Mussolini as the Defender of Islam. They did not notice, of course, that the horse in the statue seemed to be rearing as if it had just seen a snake, or that Mussolini, with what appeared to be a scroll in one hand and a sword in the other, already had his hands full. This was a joke of mine which, despite the reverence which all Italian officials have for Il Duce, was much appreciated. Arabs and Sudanese fought to see the ceremony. Puccini's beautiful *Hymn to Rome* was played by massed bands as a solemn interlude between the various Fascist anthems in marching strain dedicated to every branch of Fascist life and activity. Free food, drink, cigarettes, visits to the theatres and cinemas were provided, and to dispel any sense of loneliness, Italian soldiers, priests and officials, mingled with the colonists.

When the families were put into Army lorries at Tripoli and Bengazi, and taken to their new homes, they found flags, bands, slogans and pictures of Mussolini awaiting them along the entire route. They also saw much to their surprise, Arabs, wearing

their finest raiment with their tribal flags, paraded in the villages to give them welcome amid shouts of " Viva Il Duce " " Viva Il Imperatore ". The Arabs produced a weird collection of musical instruments to give an African touch to the reception. Thus the sense of Empire, the feeling that they were important emissaries of a new Italy, was not only suggested by sight and sound, but drilled into them.

I do not know what their inmost emotions were when the next morning they surveyed the clean new white buildings, the livestock, and the ploughed fields amid the sand, which in time would be their own, under an African sun. I only know that in conversation with them they revealed the liveliest enthusiasm mixed with pride in Mussolini. I heard one complaint. A young girl who had worked in a shoe shop in Milan was convinced that she would never see her favourite American film stars on the screen again! Colonists were provided with food and necessaries for a few days which could be replenished at the village co-operative stores, and, of course, they all carried a portrait of Mussolini and the inevitable Italian flag.

Not only were the farmsteads completely new, but entire villages with most modern facilities, including a church, school, hospital, town hall, lecture and cinema room, stores and telegraph and post office, had been built. All that the colonist was asked to do was to work hard and believe in Mussolini. The farmsteads were close enough to banish loneliness and to give a sense of community. The colonists were so distributed that neighbours came from different parts of Italy. The Duce was determined that no clan feeling should persist in Libya.

The organization for the transport, landing and settlement of the colonists worked with a smoothness of which I had thought the Italians were incapable. The Army and a regiment of officials took charge. Where the journey from the coast took too long to be completed in one day, camps were built of Army tents, and every care and attention was given to the welfare and happiness of the emigrants.

Marshal Balbo made it his duty to visit every one of the villages, and personally to greet as many colonists as was possible. Mussolini could not have selected a better man. The Marshal has an ease of manner and a lack of any patronizing

sense which gave him an identity of spirit with the emigrants. He looks what he is, a bearded buccaneer, a product of the modern aviation school. He is thorough, disdains any flattery or subservience, flies his own aeroplane everywhere, has inexhaustible energy and a talent for giving and receiving friendship. He is not of the type of which political intriguers are made. He never forgets that he actually marched on Rome—and he must know how popular he became among the Italian people after he flew his massed squadrons to South America and Chicago. He also appears to know precisely why he is in Libya.

He has imbued all his officials with something of his own character. I was astonished when I saw the colonial efficiency of the Italians in Libya, the vast irrigation schemes, the miles of excellent roads, the agricultural research work, and the energy and desire for achievement. Fascism really does seem to produce a better type of man for the colonies than it does for Italy.

Such in outline, without too much burden of detail, is the story of the first 20,000. To those of us who came from countries blessed with a democratic form of government, it appeared at first sight to be a demonstration of what Dictatorships could achieve by planning, organization, propaganda, and a ruthless pursuit of what they considered to be an ideal.

When I examined the whole scheme and talked quite freely with Italian officials, who were frank on every subject except Mussolini and his high policies, it became apparent that colonization was not the only object which the Duce had in mind. It is difficult to place the many factors which enter into the colonization scheme in a precise order of importance, but there is no doubt of one thing; the fact that Italy is sending white men and women as emigrants to Libya, while France is dependent upon black troops from Africa to ensure the defence of the mother-country, has given the Italians a sense of superiority over the French, and strengthened their belief that the French are a decadent race, unworthy to hold the colonies they possess. It is easy to imagine what a weapon Italian propaganda has in its hands merely by drawing attention to this contrast.

The demand for Tunis does not to Italians seem unreasonable, nor in time will the demand for all of France's African possessions. Mussolini has encouraged and is still encouraging the Italians to recall the Roman conquests. In ten years he will be an old man. If his dreams are to be realized, he must act quickly and strike swiftly. Time is his greatest enemy. In five years he will have 100,000 colonists in Libya and of these at least 20,000 men will be able-bodied, young, and capable of bearing arms. The arms are already there, for this future garrison of Libya. Mussolini has not forgotten that in 1915 the Italians were compelled to withdraw troops from Libya to fight against the Austrians. The rebellious Arabs, encouraged by the Turks, approached almost to the gates of Tripoli, and the reconquest of Libya was one of the most difficult and prolonged tasks which the Italian army undertook after the War. Mussolini is determined that never again shall Italy be found in such a plight.

Were a settlement of Italian peasant families in Libya to be merely a scheme for providing for the future of Italy's landless people, it is obvious that the whole of the colonists would be concentrated in Eastern Libya around Cyrene, where there is soil which is, apparently rich and well watered from the plateau known as the Gebel, and where the remains of Roman farms still stand. The Romans grew wheat long after the Greeks had gone, and the possibilities of colonization and development in this area transcend anything which can be found in the Tripoli area of Western Libya. Expensive schemes of irrigation have been necessary in the Western sector. It is true that veterans of the Tripoli war have managed to obtain a comparatively fruitful living from the scrub and sand. I was astonished in seeing what could be achieved. But it was frankly admitted by the Italians that, since colonization was linked with the garrisoning of Libya, it was necessary to distribute the colonists over those areas vital for the defence of the country. There was, therefore, a real meaning in the slogans pasted up throughout Libya which read " Every Colonist is a soldier at the command of the Duce " " Mussolini is invincible. Wherever he leads us there is victory ". " Colonists. Mussolini wants to transform the Libyan desert into a blossoming garden. Obey his

commands ". It is under this direction and these exhortations that the colonists will spend the next twenty years of their lives.

With all the provisions that have been made for taking care of the aged and the sick, the mortality rate in Libya should not be high. On the other hand the birth-rate will undoubtedly be high. The propaganda on behalf of *demografica*—or the intensive production of population—has been most active, and in selecting the emigrants this consideration has been very much in the mind of Mussolini. The segregation of the sexes during the voyage to Libya, a segregation which parted husbands and wives who had never been apart since they were married and which lasted in most cases for at least eleven days, had the dual purpose of facilitating the shipment of the emigrants and of satisfying the needs of *demografica*! We estimated that there will be at least 1,000 Libyan Italians born before the second contingent arrives.

There is one problem, particularly in Eastern Libya, which is likely to arise and for which Italians have apparently made every provision. The Arabs have been compelled to abandon the higher districts of the Gebel to make room for the Italians. Marshal Balbo has given to these Arabs an inalienable reserve of land and improvements in watering facilities over a vast zone extending from the borders of Egypt to the south of Bengazi Province, and thence through Agedabia in the Sirte Province to the South of the Gebel. Here, not only will the existence of the 800,000 heads of livestock be assured, but it is hoped to increase the flocks to twice that number. By the free concession of land and subsidies the Arabs will be able to develop the new territories in which they are placed, and already two arab villages, one of which I visited with Marshal Balbo, have nearly reached the completion of their construction. Every village will have a mosque, the Mudir's headquarters, school, cafe and market, but whereas these new Arab farms will cost only £320 each, the Italian farms will cost as much as £1,850 each. There is not much differentiation in the system by which the Italian Government will be repaid at least two thirds of this investment, but it is easy to foresee that when the Arabs see Mussolini's dream of a " blossoming garden " coming true, and the soil

which they have neglected for years proving most abundant, a similar situation will arise to that which exists in Palestine to-day. The lazy and parsimonious Arab will think he has been cheated. Even this has been foreseen by Mussolini and Marshal Balbo. The Italians have their own way of dealing with rebellious Arabs. Graziani's name will long endure in Libya. The Arabs I saw were enthusiastic admirers of Marshal Balbo and of the Italians, but, as a safeguard, these Arabs who have been moved from the comparatively rich lands of the Gebel are in a position where rebellion could be made most ineffective. The Italians occupy the high lands.

In this article I have purposely not entered into a full detailed account of the Italian colonization of Libya. There are aspects of the settlement which would be of great interest to agricultural experts and problems of administration, which might well be studied closely by the Colonial Office. I was —and am still— concerned with the international, political and military significance. The demand for Tunis is no idle cry. The dream of *Mare Nostrum* will long persist. Mussolini is not colonizing Libya merely to aid his landless peasants, any more than he is fighting on the side of Franco to give his troops experience of modern warfare.

To make the Mediterranean a truly Italian sea, in conformity with the policy of *Mare Nostrum*, is one of the ambitions which he cherishes with utmost tenacity. It must remain one of the principal causes of European unrest while Mussolini lives and endures.

ITALY AND HER JEWS

By Cecil Roth

ROMAN Jewry is by a long way the oldest in Europe, and indeed in the western world as a whole. From the second centvry B.C:, the Eternal City had its Eternal Jewish Community.

It was not long before the original tiny settlement developed on a larger scale. When Cicero defended the corrupt proconsul Flaccus in 59 B.C.E., on a charge of extortion, he professed to be overawed by the number of Jews who had crowded into the court room—an obvious exaggeration, but testimony none the less to their numbers in Rome than to the tranquillity which they enjoyed. Julius Cæsar (like all wise dictators of the past, from Alexander to Napoleon) recognized their qualities, treated them with benignity, and was in consequence mourned by them whole-heartedly, as the contemporary accounts accentuate. But it was after his day that the community attained its great development. In all the wars in Palestine and the Near East, Jews were captured and brought back home in triumph. They refused to surrender their identity : and their brethren regarded it as a fundamental religious duty to ransom them. Hence a large proportion recovered their liberty and remained behind as free settlers in the land to which they had been brought as captives. These are the ancestors of the main body of Italian Jewry of to-day. The descendants of this primitive Jewish group have peopled the Italian peninsula for upwards of 1500 years. To stigmatize such a group as ' strangers ', and to treat them as aliens, is a travesty of history itself. Of the Italians of to-day only the Italian Jews can affirm, with any probability of verisimilitude, that they represent an ethnic strain which was in Rome under the Cæsars, and are still undiluted and unchanged. Who, then, are the strangers ?

All Italian Jews have not quite so remote an ancestry in the country. Italian Jewry, too, had its vicissitudes. In the

period which followed the downfall of the Roman Empire, it witnessed dark days. But it was reinforced, during the course of the Middle Ages and after, from other sources. When the Jews were expelled from France in the fourteenth century, numbers of them crossed the Alps and settled in Piedmont, where the three communities of Asti, Fossano, and Moncalvo (known to students of Hebrew literature after their initial letters, AFM) preserved until our own day the old French liturgy. During the course of the persecutions in Germany from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, a number of fugitives settled in the various cities of Lombardy and the adjacent area in the North. On the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, some of the exiles found shelter in Italy, where they were reinforced subsequently, down to the seventeenth century, by their Marrano brethren fleeing from the fires of the Inquisition. But, after that period, immigration stopped, until the twentieth century. The *newcomers* in the historic Jewish community of Italy have been established there for three centuries—longer than the *oldest* Jewish settlers in England or in America.

Why was Italy able to receive these successive waves? The reason is that there was never in Italy any strong anti-Jewish feeling, such as disgraced other countries. The Italian, perhaps because of his nearness to Rome, is naturally a tolerant being—or was, until our own day. Hence Italy is the only country of the world in which, though Jews have constantly been present, their history has not been written in letters of blood. The record of physical martyrdom of Italian Jewry is relatively inconsiderable, and even in those few cases which may be cited foreign influence was as often as not responsible. On the threshold of the nineteenth century, but only then, the reaction against the French Revolution brought about a series of veritable pogroms in Central Italy—almost the only episodes of the sort in the whole of Italian Jewish history. It was the armies of the French Revolution, we may remember, which broke down the Ghetto gates and first permitted the Jews to come out to enjoy the privileges of other men.

The Jews threw themselves heart and soul into the *Risorgimento*. In every one of the forlorn hopes and gallant

fights : in each popular uprising against the German tyrants ; among the idealists who gathered round Mazzini and the dare-devil patriots who followed Garibaldi they were prominent out of all proportion to their numbers in the country. Cavour, the architect of Italian unity, was ably seconded by his devoted Secretary, Isaac Artom—a Jew. There were eight Jews among Garidaldi's Thousand, bravest of the brave, though the Jews numbered only about one-tenth of one per cent. of the Italian population. The most noble episode of the whole *Risorgimento* was perhaps the momentary restoration of Venetian independence in 1848-9, which was led by the half-Jew, Daniel Manin, seconded by many of his Jewish kindred, including the two Rabbis of the city. It is no exaggeration, but a plain statement of fact, that of all the elements of the Italian population they did most, dared most and lost most—far above what might have been expected from their numbers—to lay the basis of United Italy.

In Italy, the emancipation of the Jew, under Victor Emanuel I. was far more than a matter of legal enactment ; it was a social reality. Here the question of xenophobia, of dislike of the stranger, did not enter into account. Jews had been living in the country from time immemorial ; they spoke the same language and lived much the same social life as their neighbours ; the most recent arrivals among them had been there for four or five centuries. Hence, once religious disabilities were abolished, the Jew was accepted as an Italian like any other, except that he attended (or did not attend) his synagogue, or ' Temple ', on Saturday, whereas his neighbour attended, or did not attend, Church on Sunday. And the Jews threw themselves into Italian life with a zest and a completeness which perhaps never had any parallel in history—even more whole-heartedly than in Germany, for the surviving discriminations which drove so many outstanding German Jews to baptism or ruined their careers were completely unknown here. They played an enormous part in Italian cultural life. Ernesto Nathan, member of an Anglo-Jewish family which had befriended Mazzini in exile, was perpetually re-elected Mayor of Rome—in part because of his striking resemblance to the great Italian patriot. One of the many outstanding Jewish generals, (General Graziani, the

conqueror of Abyssinia, was said to be among this number; for the name is a characteristically Jewish one, even though his immediate antecedents may not have been Jewish) was Giuseppe Ottolenghi, Minister of War in 1902-3, and one of the tutors of the children of the present King, who, until Mussolini went mad, shewed on a score of occasions that there was nothing anti-Semitic in his mentality. Other Jews attained still higher distinction. Luigi Luzzatti, that prophet-like figure who ' spiritualized the power of gold ' was Prime Minister in 1909-11, and incidentally was responsible for Italy's high-minded refusal after the war to collaborate in bringing the ex-Kaiser to trial, on the grounds that there must be no punishment without law. Sidney Sonnino, Premier in 1906-7 and Foreign Minister after Italy entered the War, was one of the few Italian statesmen of the Liberal era respected even by Fascism; he was a half-Jew. And similarly, in every other aspect of Italian life—art and letters, politics and journalism, music and teaching, philosophy and exploration, business and philanthropy—Jews played in that glorious half-century a share out of all proportion to their numbers. This Italy then regarded rightly as a tribute of love and devotion from her oldest yet youngest children—not, as at present, as a ' menace '. An Italian statistician calculated, without any shadow of malice, that persons of eminence in the Jewish community were proportionately fifteen times more numerous than those in the general body of the population, holding a clear lead in every field save the hereditary nobility and the Church.

In the process, unfortunately, their Jewish loyalties suffered. It was not, as in Germany, that they had to submit to baptism as a price of advancement, but that they were so completely accepted by the general population that, in an age of secularism and religious indifference, their Judiasm tended to be forgotten. Italy became a byword among Jews for assimilation. A land which had once been famous for its high level of Hebrew culture was sunk in indifference. The exquisite mediæval synagogues, or the grandiose modern ' Temples ' such as those of Florence and Turin built as monuments of Jewish emancipation, were in large measure abandoned. Inter-marriage became rife. The small towns, hitherto the centres of some of the most famous

of the century-old communities, gradually lost their Jews, who migrated to the larger centres, where they tended to surrender their individuality. Moreover, as though this were not enough, the increasing well-being sapped the Jewish vitality from the demographic point of view.

While Italian Jewry has been culturally important, it has never been numerically significant. The reason for this is plain. The treatment of the Jew in Italy has always been relatively benevolent. There was never, as in other countries, violent persecution, with its fatal consequences of mass-emigration or wholesale murder, in which Germany enjoyed so unenviable a pre-eminence. There was, on the other hand, the unremitting attraction of a Roman Catholic environment, reinforced during many centuries by the deadly pressure of the Ghetto system. Accordingly, there has been a continuous procession of Italian Jews from the Synagogue to the Church ; and this is clearly a principal reason (though not the solitary one) for the virtual constancy of the figures of the Italian Jewish population. Statistics which I have brought together with some care over a long period shew that no less than 1,195 Jews were baptized (whether by fair means or by foul) in Rome alone between 1634 and 1700—a ratio exceeded elsewhere, for example at Ferrara where, in a community which did not exceed 1500 or 2000 souls, the number of baptisms in a single decade at the close of the seventeenth century was 68, or an average of seven each year. In the face of these figures and this obstinate refusal of Italian Jewry to increase its numbers in proportion to the rest of the population, it is simply untrue to say that the Jews of Italy are unassimilable—one of the excuses which are made for the present reaction. The fact is that they have been assimilated during the entire course of the past twenty centuries perpetually and (from the Jewish point of view) far too completely. There can indeed be very few, among the urban population of the country at least, in whose veins there runs no Jewish blood. And, what with this and with the demographic decadence which has been indicated above, there is every indication that left to themselves the Jews of Italy (outside Rome) would solve whatever ' problem' fanatics believe them to possess, within a couple of generations, by simply ceasing to exist.

During the War of 1915—8, Italy's handful of Jews played a valiant part. There were no less than eleven Jewish generals commanding in the field. There were upwards of a thousand citations for gallantry. A large number of young men, who could be ill-spared from that dwindling community, fell on the field of battle : and in every Italian synagogue there are Rolls of Honour, only too crowded with names (that in Rome was unveiled by the King of Italy himself). And it was not only in the field that Jews worked for the Greater Italy. The community of Trieste had distinguished itself for a century and a half for its devoted attachment to the mother-country : and in the generation before the war Salvatore Barzilai, son of the Secretary of the local synagogue, kept alive the flame of irridentism, and was known in Italian politics as ' Deputy for Trieste '. When in 1917 the Italian armies were overwhelmed at Caporetto, the Jews of Trieste were thrown into mourning. In the deepest secret, a congregational fast was proclaimed, which was observed with the traditional prayers and formalities (This detail has never, I believe, been published hitherto).

Twenty-two years later, the community is regarded in a different light ; and the new voice of Rome proclaims that Trieste's 5,000 Jews constitute a ' problem ' for Italy. New times, new views, it is true ; but it is hardly necessary to be so ungrateful withal.

It has been suggested above that the fundamental cause for the decay in the cohesion of Italian Jewry was the whole-hearted manner in which the Italian Jews had been received into Italian life. It is necessary to revert to this point for a moment. Of all the countries of the world, there was none in which anti-Semitism was so completely dead. It was not only that the Jew did not suffer from discrimination or enmity or antagonism. There was not even the slightest shadow of self-consciousness on the one side, or lifting of the eyebrows disdainfully on the other. The Italian Jew was simply (when he retained his religious allegiance) ' an Italian of the Jewish persuasion ' in the best sense of the phrase. From 1920 onwards, the present writer paid annual visits to Italy, varying in length from twelve months downwards. He travelled throughout the length and breadth of the country. He intermingled with all

sorts and conditions of men—from the aristocracy to the pedlar, from University Professors to shoeblacks. He never made any attempt to conceal his faith and origin—indeed, in a country so crowded with memorials of the Jewish past as Italy, he could not help reverting to this matter above all. And, in the entire course of this score of years, he never once encountered the shadow of anti-Jewish feeling or prejudice. Anti-Semitism in Italy was entirely non-existent.

In the early years of Fascism, Signor Mussolini's Jewish Community Law definitely improved the already favourable status of the Italian Jews as a corporate body ('I realize how favourable it must be to you because of the way in which the priests are grumbling', he is reported to have said). And, when a provincial paper idly raised the Ritual Murder question in connexion with an historical anniversary of many centuries before, it was a message from the Palazzo Venezia which enjoined it to retract.

In his public statements on Anti-Semitism, moreover, at that time, Mussolini set a model for statesmen to follow. A few months after the March on Rome, he received Angelo Sacerdoti, the Chief Rabbi of the city, with whom he was on terms of the warmest personal friendship, and whose premature death in 1935 was therefore so heavy a blow to Italian Jewry, and informed him that Fascism had never sought to follow an anti-Semitic policy and deplored that anti-Jewish organizations abroad should attempt to exploit the Fascist idea in this despicable manner. This was the first of a whole series of similar statements, which would form if collected quite a little volume. At the time of the rise of the Nazi party to power, he shewed the native common-sense which underlies his pugnacious personality, and even his pose as an ancient Roman, in an interview with Emil Ludwig. 'Do you believe', asked the latter, 'that Racial unity is a necessary guarantee for vigorous nationalist aspirations? Are you not exposed to the danger that the apologists of Fascism will talk the same nonsense about the Latin races as northern pedants have talked about the 'noble blonds', and thereby increase rival pugnacities?'

Not only were the Jews accepted as Italians by Mussolini, but they served, as it were, as pivots for the establishment of the

Italian and Fascist idea abroad. It was by the Duce's direct intervention that a Rabbinical College (closed down by the government in 1938!) was established in Rhodes, in order to turn out Italian-trained Rabbis for the Near East. A special enquiry was set on foot to establish the fact that the Jews of Malta during the Middle Ages were Italians, as an additional argument for the Fascist claims on the possession of that island in the twentieth century. Throughout the Levant, Jews of Italian descent, or with even a scantier claim to Italian citizenship, were organized to act as a centre of Italian influence (incidentally, they streamed to Italy to enlist at the time of the Abyssinian War). The Government in Rome took a personal interest in seeing that the community of Alexandria should be provided with an Italian-speaking Rabbi who should continue its quasi-Italian traditions ; and the eager apostles of Italianism who tried to organize the Italian colony in Tunis, so as to prevent it from becoming Gallicized (a strange thought to-day) were, only too frequently Jews.

But, in the face of all this, and of what he himself formerly considered to be elementary justice and commonsense, the Duce has decided to launch a ' racialist ' campaign in Italy ; and the Jews are, of course, the first victims. Apologists point out that the process, compared with the German model, is a comparatively mild one. But it is premature to say this. German anti-semitism has been in the saddle for nearly six years, Italian for only as many months. What has happened in that brief period is unbelievable : yet still the decrees come on in steady succession. What the next five and a half years will bring no man knows. Will it include physical violence ? Those who have sauntered happily through the mediæval streets of Florence, who have stood beneath the Arch of Titus in Rome, who have floated down the Venetian canals by moonlight, will say ' Of course not—not in that happy, friendly country '. But the example of violence, as of injustice, is infectious ; and he would be a bold man who will affirm that even Italy is safe from the basest manifestations of the new anti-Semitism which Germany so zealously inculcates.

The first victims of Italian anti-semitism were the University Professors, according to the terms of an edict published on

September 5th. The list of victims appeared in the Italian press on October 13th, and comprised some of the most eminent names in Italian scholarship—Mario Donati, the great surgeon. Giorgio del Vecchio, formerly Rector of the University of Rome; Alessandro della Seta, the eminent archæologist; Tullio Levi Civita, the greatest of Italian mathematicians. Some branches of study seem to be completely denuded—the study of physiology for example, in which it is said that twenty out of twenty-one of the University chairs were filled at one time by Jews (how this even if true, can have any political significance, or be said to constitute a menace to Italian life, is a matter on which the present writer is not qualified to pass an opinion). In pure mathematics and physics—both equally non-political subjects—matters were similar. An analysis of the names of the victims is instructive. Of the first 96, exactly one-half the total belong to the oldest stratum of Italian Jewry—the families settled in classical Rome two thousand or at the very least fifteen hundred years ago, by comparison with whom the Mussolinis and Cianos are impertinent newcomers into the Italian scheme of life. 45 of the remainder are descended from families who settled in the country in the Middle Ages, from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth. Precisely three out of the 96 are what may be termed newcomers—members of families which arrived during the past hundred years. What a peril to the purity of Italian cultural life!

But it is not only the University Professors who have been dismissed. School-teachers and civil servants, journalists and academicians, lawyers and physicians, have joined them. Jewish property is being expropriated. Jewish shops are being removed from the main streets, no fresh licences to open businesses are being granted to Jews, Jews are being forbidden to own more than a minute quantity of land (as though to give point to the old anti-semitic reproach that the Jew is no farmer!) They are no longer to be admitted to the Fascist party, in which many figured valiantly from the beginning: and, since the card of membership is requisite in application for almost any job, this means that every normal avenue of employment will be closed to them. Intermarriage is forbidden by law, as strictly as in Germany, notwithstanding the protests of the Pope. Worst of

all, the foreign Jews, who formerly received positive encouragement at every turn, particularly as regards study at the Universities, are expelled from the country almost without exception—a worse extravagance than has taken place thus far in Germany itself.

Jewish savants, who were elected to the various academies not long since in recognition of their services to Italian culture, have had their names struck off the rolls. And this is only the beginning. There are various exemptions at the moment, in favour of those who served in Italy's wars and their immediate posterity. But there were exemptions once in Germany, too: and the children in any case are to be denied ordinary educational facilities and herded into Ghetto schools, which in the tiny communities dotted about the Peninsula will in many cases be farcical.

What is the reason for all this? Is it to curry favour with the Arabs? Is it to please Herr Hitler? Is it because Signor Mussolini has his eye on the Jewish property, in the hope of relieving his financial straits? All of these considerations doubtless enter into the question; but none by itself is sufficient to explain this astonishing *volte-face*. The chief reason is, it seems to me, pre-eminently a psychological one. The Italian people dislike the Germans for their present arrogance and past brutalities, from which in the past century they, too, suffered, when the northern part of the country lay under the Austrian heel. The persecution of the Jews in Germany was hailed in Italy with horror; public sympathy was outspoken, from the lowest to the highest ranks of the Fascist hierarchy. This state of public opinion did not accord with the ideology of the Rome-Berlin axis. Not only Germany, but German policy in every detail, has become respectable in Italy; and the two national ideologies must be made to correspond in every detail, even at the cost of swallowing the racial absurdity. But signs are not lacking that to most decent-minded Italians, the diet is highly unpalatable.

JAPAN AND THE INSTINCT TO EXPAND

By R. T. Barrett

SINCE the days of city states on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates an instinct to swarm and to expand at the expense of neighbours has gripped the human hives called nations, at certain periods of their history. With some races the eruptions are recurrent; with others a single period of brilliance is followed by eclipse.

Expansion usually follows a struggle for internal consolidation, as in the instances of Rome under the early Cæsars, Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, England in the seventeenth century, in the first half of the eighteenth century and again in mid-Victorian times. Natural vigour and pugnacity, having accomplished all that is required at home, now seek new worlds to conquer. The desire to trade, to travel and to spread the national culture grips the mind of an enterprising and fighting stock. Overpopulation may be a factor in impelling Japanese expansion to-day but it had nothing to do with imperial enterprises of Europe previous to the nineteenth century; nor can this desire for overseas possessions be found in such densely peopled lands as Java, India, Egypt and China. Even Great Britain seems to have entered the stage of national evolution in which new commitments are not desired.

In Japan the urge to expand and to conquer has been gathering strength since the great revolution of the Meiji Age, when Japan emerged out of isolation and feudalism. Japanese are active in the Philippine Islands, the East Indies, the Pacific Islands, but it is against China that their main effort is directed. There is nothing mysterious about this imperialistic instinct. The Japanese nobility see in these ambitions a source of power for themselves, as leaders of a great nation and as viceroys of her possessions. They hope to satisfy the demands of the commercial classes for trade and of the lower orders for work and for land.

The commercial classes have followed the flag somewhat reluctantly, seeing dangers and temporary losses ahead ; the lower orders have been swayed by hopes of better conditions at home or of a new life overseas. In a country where patriotism is a national religion the constant thwarting of Japanese ambitions, and past failures to secure what have been regarded as the rightful fruits of victory have raised the pressure of nationalistic ardour to dangerous levels. In 1895 the Powers intervened to moderate the terms imposed by Japan upon a beaten China ; in 1904 the Treaty of Portsmouth, after the magnificent victory over Russia, was a bitter disappointment to the mob who knew nothing of national exhaustion ; in 1915 the Japanese government withdrew the Twenty-one demands aiming at domination of China, when to the people the coast looked clear for conquest of the mainland Republic ; at the Versailles Peace Conference Japan got nothing but some Pacific Islands ; in 1932 she retreated from Shanghai. No wonder patriotic circles are demanding that this time Japan's strength shall be used to the full and that her statesmen take courage from Herr Hitler's defiance of the democratic countries.

These patriotic elements are now in control, and let there be no doubt as to their intentions. Prince Konoye, as Prime Minister of Japan, declared that Japan will never surrender an inch of the territory which she has conquered. In a recent pronouncement Prince Konoye said : " The key to the solution of how to dispose of China is now in the hands of Japan. What Japan sincerely demands is not the destruction of China but the rise and prosperity of China, not the conquest of China, but co-operation with China ". He declares that Japan is second to no nation in appreciating the racial aspirations of China, but " the realization of this ideal has been thwarted by the policy of the Kuomintang Government ". Prince Konoye knows, and he realizes that we know, that China's racial aspirations were expressed only by the Kuomintang. What he is demanding is the complete and abject obedience of the Chinese people. In his own words—Japan is going to beat China to her knees. Then the two nations are to co-operate in the way that Japan dictates. The Chinese are, in the political, economic and cultural aspects of life, to accept Japan's commands. They are to take the

position of a helot race, and that is what a million armed Japanese are in China, killing Chinese people, to enforce. " Foreign Powers should have a clear understanding of the new situation unfolding in East Asia. We mean to co-operate with Germany and Italy in creating a new world order ". If foreign Powers will accept Japan's policy they may be allowed to have such share in this rebuilding of China as Japan cares to toss to them. The *Japan Advertiser* and the Tokyo *Kokumin Shimbun* in commenting on this statement speak of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine for East Asia, " to which the Powers are expected to subscribe ". From the beginning of " the incident " Japan's aim has been the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-shek Government. Could there be any plainer definition of conquest than the overthrow of a well-established national government, especially when conquests have been followed by setting up puppet *régimes*, staffed by aged nonentities, who go in terror of their lives.

Prince Konoye, and the leading statesmen of Japan have issued warnings that a long war lies ahead of Japan and the taking of Hankow will not be the end. On June 26 the War Minister, General Itagaki, reminded the nation that : " It is necessary for the Japanese to make up their minds to continue hostilities for ten or twenty years, if necessary " and he spoke of the possibility of national mobilization : " We shall march into the remotest parts of China," he concluded. Mr. Ikeda, Minister of Finance, adds his forecast of " various inconveniences to the national life," and " it is premature for the people to hope for a lightening of the burden at the present time ". The controlled press of Japan is full to overflowing of plans for conquest and economic exploitation in which the wishes and the property rights of the Chinsee people have no more place than if they were cattle. The Japanese Ambassador to Rome has said clearly that Japan's object is to make of China a " second Manchukuo, whose organization will take ten years ", and this discreet diplomat further adds that British predominance in the Far East is ended for ever.

There is no doubt about Japan's intentions. The purpose of this article is now to examine the origins of this grandiose ambition and the chances of its achieving success. The basic cause of this outburst of crude aggression is the hammering of a

group of warlike clans into a nation. Over many centuries clan has fought clan in Japan, as in mediæval Scotland. Then, in the middle of last century, under the Meiji Emperor, the clans were rallied round the mysterious "prisoner of Kyoto", now manifested as Emperor and God. To resist foreign encroachments a national concentration-point was necessary and it was found in the person of the Emperor. Ancient legends of the divine origin of the Emperor and the land of Japan were resuscitated, and became part of the new educational curriculum. The Isles of Japan were begotten by the Gods. Jimmo, the first Emperor, was son of the Sun Goddess! His descendant, in an unbroken line, occupies the throne of Japan. The country had been divinely protected. The winds had destroyed the armadas of the great Kublai Khan, when he threw his might against Japan. The Gods were calling the people of Japan to arise from a long sleep, to put on the armour of western militarism and, as children of the Sun, to conquer and rule the world.

Having such conceptions in their minds it is impossible not to admire the patience, the humility, the loyalty to their leaders with which the Japanese people set about the modernization of their country. In their confidence in a great destiny they accepted the assured swagger of the Western peoples; they fought the inferiority complex arising not only from this tutelage but from the consciousness that their traditional culture was Chinese in origins, and the new knowledge was European. Despite such misgivings they felt that Japanese ways and traditions had an inherent greatness, above those of both their old and their new mentors.

Ethnologically the Japanese are a mixture of Chinese and Malays. They have the patient endurance and the clan loyalty of the Chinese. Their mentality has also, like the Chinese, a telepathic quality, which subordinates the individual to the clan and family, and, in Japan gives a unique and formidable cohesion to the whole nation. What may be called the herd instinct is developed to a degree incomprehensible to the Western mind.

Blending with these qualities is the warlike fire of the Malay, and the berserk tendency to run amok, under stress of emotion has not been eliminated. No one would claim that the

Japanese are a continent people, and beneath the outward masks of immobility and self-control, signs of sadism are often manifest. This is evidenced not only in the ruthless ferocity of the campaign in China, but by the normal prevalence of suicide, the national institution of hara-kiri, and the martial tradition of death before surrender. Yet another source of the contending instincts which torment Japanese mentality is the instability of the ground beneath their feet. Japan is the land of typhoons, of volcanoes and of perpetual earthquake. The lash of the forces of destruction, and the recurrent quiver of the soil on which they have stood for centuries have scarred the imagination and the subconscious ego of this people, filling them with uneasiness and fear.

As if these were not burdens enough this highly-strung people has passed during the last seventy years through a political, social and economic revolution which in Europe came of natural growth over a period of four centuries. The nobility, the samurai (their faithful henchmen), the timid merchant class and the rude peasantry have seen their static civilization change from a feudalism of the land to a feudalism of the factory. Patriotism has become nation-wide, martial activity a matter of world strategy, in place of the little battles between the armoured warriors of a class that jealously preserved the monopoly of bearing arms. Those of the samurai who could not be absorbed into the Army, Navy, Police and bureaucracy, have had to beat their swords into pens, and become the business executives of a nobility that turned to industry and commerce. The merchants' class has gained in wealth and status, but the peasantry has remained essentially the same—families working little patches of land according to traditional methods; for there has been no agricultural revolution in Japan.

During the changes the feudal nobility was determined to maintain its place. The motives were not wholly selfish, for they saw in the continued pyramid structure of society, with the Emperor at the apex, Japan's only sure way of ordered evolution into the status of a great power. They were at an advantage over the noble orders of Europe in having the services of the samurai at their command. By drawing this highly disciplined order of chivalry into the process of modernization, they were

able to prevent the emergence of a bourgeois class, demanding political power and economic privileges ; they could keep control of the lower orders, even while admitting them to the privilege of bearing arms in the Emperor's service.

Democratic principles made progress in Japan during the early years of the present century, when English ideas influenced the country. The collapse of the imperial *régimes* of Russia, Austria and Germany demonstrated, however, to the Japanese nobility, that no aristocratic system was safe. The process of subordinating the Diet was begun, its members, and its parties, coming under the sway of the great feudal houses, as in the eighteenth century the Commons in England came under the Whig families. At the present time the Diet has no more power than the German Reichstag.

Industry has been controlled in Japan with the same ends in view—the maintenance of the social and political order. Because it was realized that factories can be dangerous centres of agitation and unrest, they have been largely staffed with women. Japanese women are trained to be docile. They are indentured by their menfolk, in return for a lump sum, and they no doubt find consolation in the regular hours, the communal life and the pay of the factory. Industry has been mainly concentrated upon textiles and light goods, suitable for female labour. Furthermore, home industries, in which the peasant sets his family to work at looms rented from large concerns, and upon materials supplied from the same source, also prove a safeguard against the rise of a turbulent population in the manufacturing towns.

Despite these shifts the social structure of Japan is not stable. The anomaly of twentieth-century industry alongside primitive agriculture produces curious stresses. The Army is largely recruited from the peasants, and the peasants are living on standards of Oriental poverty. They, and their sons in the army, are therefore resentful against big business. In its turn big business has viewed the political usurpation of the Army and Navy with alarm. It accepted the offer of the loot of China with reluctance. As traders they saw that to take the sword to your customer is bad business ; as patriots, and members of a fighting race, they could see the menace of a China that was

putting her house in order and developing her armaments. They realized that in a few years all hope of conquering China would pass. There were other sources of uneasiness. Western ideas continued to seep into Japan, *via* the press, the cinema, the tourists. Women were restive. Young people were restive. Communism was at work deep down among the poorer orders. The Army was out of hand, as shown by the uprising of February, 1936, when Ministers of the Crown were murdered, a part of Tokyo seized, and the rebels lightly punished owing to popular sympathy. In the world beyond, Japanese immigrants were excluded and tariffs raised against Japanese goods. Unemployment among men was increasing. The factories could not absorb them, and there were too many for the land. Unless something were done the unemployed would menace the security of the state.

War and the conquest of China were seen as the solvents of Japan's troubles, political and economic. Even if the rapid success achieved in Manchuria were not repeated Japan could settle down to a long war. The country grows all the food it needs. Exports could pay for imports of raw materials. The army would absorb the surplus man-power, and would carve out places for its men in China. Gradually China would be brought under control and then its resources would be tapped and taken to Japan—the coal and iron of the north and round Hankow, the cotton of Shantung and oil which prospectors would be sure to find ! As the war proceeded pockets of land in the eastern plain of China, and near Hankow, could be cleared of aborigines and populated by the Japanese conquerors. The Chinese trading class, always materialistic, would soon come to heel. Their business would pass through the Customs, whose revenues are paid into Japanese banks, and are at the disposal of Japan. If the Chinese needed cotton cloth (and what else can they wear ?) and certain European goods to which they are becoming accustomed, they would have to buy them from Japanese sources. So the great age of " peaceful co-operation " would slowly dawn, under the iron tutelage of the garrisons of occupation.

Japan, in the flood tide of her power, and in the grip of her expanding instinct, calculates that she can in time overwhelm

China, as the Manchus and the Mongols overwhelmed the country. The question is whether Japan has the inherent greatness to accomplish this task, in the teeth of opposition from the Western Powers and from China ?

No Western Power is likely to put the matter to the arbitration of war. Germany and Italy have been offered a share in the process of " co-operation with China ". Neither Power has any roots in the Far East. Their trade tentacles can at any time be cut. Russia is too busy slaughtering her own officers to be a menace. Britain and America are the imponderables. America will not fight for China. But if the Open Door be closed embargoes might be put upon Japanese silk, and Japan relies upon that trade to buy oil, armaments and raw materials. The simple announcement recently made that a new rayon process for silk stockings has been discovered in America, and will reduce the demand for real silk, must have given Japan cause for thought. America has more trade with China than any other country, and she will not lightly abandon it. With her liberalism and her money she is not a welcome colleague. Great Britain holds Hong Kong, the gateway to South China. As long as she is there China cannot be made watertight against British trade and British notions. Japan may need money from Britain. She intends to be no more than a borrower, but already the British Government has declined that *rôle*. The British Empire is a great source of Japanese trade. It buys Japanese goods, it sells ores and rubber. If driven too far Britain might prove an awkward antagonist. Raiders from Singapore would be dangerous on lines of communication. Hitler, however, inspires Japanese imperialists with a new will to dare and to dare. There is always a chance that the British Empire may fall to pieces or be pulled down by a coalition of totalitarian Powers. Then who shall stand in the way of Japan's lordship over Asia ?

Such are the people who have launched the greatest campaign of conquest in the history of the world. They are attempting to plant their heels upon the necks of one quarter of the human race by one war. Their plan is simple. They will hold the railways, the ports and rivers. They will work the mines and factories, they will keep out foreign help. " War is a matter of

communications and of key positions ". Japan holds all of these. " Sea power proves decisive in a long war ". The military maxims are on the side of Japan, though Napoleon said : " numbers win in the end ". Under modern conditions no easy generalizations about the task of swallowing a country the size of China and of the indestructibility of the soul of a great nation will provide an answer to the upshot of the war in China. Crops must be sown and reaped or the people will perish and the Japanese, nothing loath, will inherit the land. Handicrafts must go on, and trade must pass through Japanese hands. Can the Chinese pit their ill-armed, rudely organized guerrillas against an iron militarism ?

There are two types of conquerors, the permanent and the ephemeral. Of which kind is Japan ? Has she the nature only of Tamerlane and Attila, the destroyers, or is there any Roman quality in her imperialism ? Thirteen years ago, when the Chinese civil wars showed no sign of ever ending, if Japan had marched into the country she might have taken control of the Government and been welcomed by a war-weary land. Since then Nanking's achievements have shown that virtue has not gone out of the Chinese people. They could have rebuilt their country, as they rebuilt Canton, turning it from a welter of disorder and squalor into a modern city. The burning of Canton was an act of significant hatred and determination. Japan has inspired a loathing in Chinese hearts so deep that not in this generation will she be accepted as benefactor. In their mingling of good humour and ruthlessness, their contrasts of fecklessness and thrift, their ingenuity and their gallantry in irregular warfare, their long memories and power of hate, the peasants of Eire and the peasants of China have something in common. An Ireland of two million square miles and of four hundred million active resisters is the gauge of Japan's task.

EBB AND FLOW

By Stephen Gwynn

I WONDER if anyone in these times gives a thought to that much debated question of War-guilt. At any rate the Germans have not forgotten it, and probably Herr Hitler thinks of a day when the representatives of those Powers that dictated the terms of Versailles will write down at his dictation a solemn assurance that Russia, France, England and Belgium nefariously plunged Europe into bloodshed. Italy's feelings, and America's, may for the time be spared; but Herr Hitler will then have done something to prove how peaceful and civilized the German power is and has been.

German Power —and Will

Here is how we stand. Great Britain is hurriedly spending untold millions to give some protection for her people against the day when Germany may decide to bomb London and other great cities to bits. France is either doing the same, or is deciding to concentrate her effort on the power to make reprisals. But nobody now pretends to doubt that Germany has the power and the will to inflict wholesale destruction, if it be thought necessary for Germany's interests. That power has only come to Germany within the last seven or eight years; it grew from secret beginnings but even five years ago its growth could have been checked. Why was it not checked? Pilsudski proposed to France to stamp it out when Poland and France could have done the thing, perhaps even against the will of Europe, certainly with Europe's acquiescence. But the idea was never seriously considered. Even in the French army, to say nothing of the democracy at large, there was a genuine horror of the idea of war. There was also the feeling that such a step would be condemned by the League of Nations; above all, that it would be condemned by England. British opinion had always resented what it called the "hegemony of France";

it had regarded as immoral France's persistent resolution to maintain her military strength, and her refusal to follow the British example. And many accomplished brains in England distinguished themselves by proving that there was not and that there never had been any special development in Germany of the will to war.

"Your Life or Your Liberty!"

At the present moment it is plain to all that, unless the democracies alter their attitude, there is an end of liberty. Whoever has the mastery of the air and the will to inflict destruction can issue orders to the world. Those orders will be for the suppression of liberty, just as if it were foot-and-mouth disease and for the same reason ; it is contagious. This is not to say that the Germans are slaves, but merely that they are Spartans. Every Spartan was ready to die for the honour of Sparta, which might be called its freedom. The whole fabric of Herr Hitler's power rests on a moral crusade, his preaching of the martial virtues. Since 1918 the value of these virtues has been questioned in the democracies, and that is why we are in danger of a choice between our lives and our liberties.

With the exception of a small part of the community, democracies are prepared to accept the martial virtues in time of war. But two great nations in Europe have decided to live permanently on a war-footing, and this has given them a start which all the resources of all the democracies can hardly hope to overtake. We know now that last September Mr. Chamberlain saw no choice but to submit, and the general judgment is that he acted as a wise man. Nobody can deny, however, that subsequent events have formed a humiliating commentary on the episode. Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier undertook to guarantee the liberty of Czechoslovakia and to give it a fairly-drawn boundary. What have England and France had to say in the drawing of that boundary ? What can they do towards protecting it ? Whatever protection Czechoslovakia gets to-day —and she needs it—must come from Germany. The memory of Mr. Chamberlain's pledge is only recalled for derision.

Those who approve Mr. Chamberlain with best reason argue that he has gained time. They say that England is now a

hundred per cent. better protected against air attack than in September ; or rather, that she is only half as unprotected. But nobody pretends that there is not danger ; nobody believes that we are in sight of a time when England can be equal to Germany in air strength ; or of a time when England and France combined can be equal to Italy and Germany. Nobody denies that the existence of two Great Powers in Europe organized strictly in accordance with the martial virtues is a danger to democracy. They on their part do not conceal that the practice of democracy is, if not a danger, at least an offence to them. Those who venture on criticism of the dictators are described in the dictatorial press as " war-mongers ": anybody is a war-monger who resists even intellectually the advance of States organized on the martial pattern.

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France sets the Example

There is a notable difference between the reactions of democracy in France and in England. France has felt challenged by Italy and has answered. M. Daladier's progress through Corsica to Tunis showed that the dictatorships have no monopoly of demonstrations. Even in the discussion of financial problems—when French discipline is weakest—France has shown willingness to assume the martial virtue of disciplined obedience, and M. Reynaud, a courageous man, has been well followed. In England on the other hand there is no such scene of gladly accepted leadership. Probably a great part of his supporters must have learnt with relief that on their way to Rome Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax were to take counsel with the French. There is a deep-seated fear lest the result of this further pilgrimage may be a new crop of humiliations. Nor is there yet any general assurance that the necessary measures have been taken to give the greatest possible protection from those dangers before which last September Mr. Chamberlain felt bound to recoil.

In the middle of these unwelcome thoughts came President Roosevelt's bold speech which clearly indicated his view that America cannot be indifferent to the course of events in Europe. There was something like a promise of help for those who should resist the aggressions of dictatorship. England, ever since the

war, has been looking for help from the United States, and has never got it, except in the enunciation of moral principles—such as the Briand-Kellogg pact. It would be rash to count on those measures " short of war " by which Mr. Roosevelt indicated that aggression might be curbed ; though it is a sign of change that a President of the United States should approach so near to the heresy of accepting solidarity with Europe. But the interest and the value of the President's speech lay in his frank recognition of one superiority which the dictatorships can claim. They leave no man idle. Nobody under their rule need fear the long search for bread-winning employment. M. Reynaud, having the instinct for leadership, told France plainly that they cannot keep pace with Germany if Frenchmen only work forty hours and Germans sixty ; and the attempt of the Trade Unions to overthrow M. Reynaud and his policy resulted in a serious defeat for the Unions and in the rupture of the *Front Populaire.* But that happened in a democracy which accepts the idea of universal military service—and by that acceptance is organized to deal with any attempt of one section in the nation to blackmail the rest.

In England organization of democracy has been more humane than in the United States ; it is a less grim matter to be out of work. But the moral of President Roosevelt's speech is not that better provision should be made for those who are unemployed, but that provision should be made to find work for them. The United States has its own problems. But in England, now fully engaged in an armaments race where it is matter of life and death to be left behind, is it conceivable that the country can keep pace with Germany and still maintain two million workers idle ? If war came to-morrow, the thing would not bear discussion ; there would be conscription of man-power. Is it reasonable that there should not be conscription, while the necessity for protection is urgent, and two million workers are being paid for doing nothing?

Work for All

An immense deal of unproductive work has to be carried through ; for instance, the building of granaries on a scale that would make England less nervous when Germany proposes to increase her fleet of submarines ; the digging of shelters, and generally the work that in war-time would be carried out under

direction of the Royal Engineers. Politically, there is great difficulty in getting this done by a democracy, as it is done under the dictatorships. Trade union interests are in the way, and one of the things which democracy should be most concerned to preserve is precisely the trade union principle. Yet if a call were made for the whole manhood of England to turn out in their shirt-sleeves and dig shelters for the women and children, I do not think opposition would come from organized labour, provided that compulsion were impartially applied to all.

America is not in sight of this necessity, but its existence cannot be denied in Great Britain. I am told that last September likely casualties from air attack were estimated at half a million in London alone. That staggering figure may justify the surrender at Munich ; but does it justify the avoidance of decisive action since ? Is it, seriously, impossible in face of such a danger, and in face of the threat to sea communications, to find work for the unemployed ? But you cannot employ them in this way unless you are prepared to send young gentlemen who wear an old school tie to shift clay or run concrete alongside of the two million.

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The Ties of the Commonwealth

This symbol of the old school tie makes difficulties for democracy. We are told that throughout North America (in Canada as well as the United States), Mr. Chamberlain's action at Munich is believed to have been largely influenced by a desire to keep clear of Russia ; yet it appears that throughout the English-speaking world Russia is counted a supporter of democracy. In a valuable book on " Australia's Foreign Policy ", issued by the Australian Institute of Political Science, it is repeatedly stated by representatives of the Labour interest that Australian Labour would resist any military action which it believed to be directed against Russia. The implication is that, if Mr. Chamberlain's Government were taken to be deliberately excluding Russia from participation in the general defence of democracy, this would not be calculated to consolidate the British Commonwealth. Certainly Russia is not democratically governed ; yet after all, are the wharf-workers in Australia so far wrong ? Stalin is a dictator, and ruthless ; yet there is probably more freedom, and

more sense of freedom in Russia under Stalin than existed in Russia under the most amiable of the Czars. But under Hitler there is certainly less freedom, and more denial of justice, than under the Kaisers. The danger to liberty in Europe lies in the dictatorships which commend themselves to fashionable circles.

That book on Australia throws much light on the way in which the Dominions regard one another. Nationality among Canadians, and South Africans, and among the Irish tends to divergence far more than in Australia or New Zealand. Ireland is perhaps the most divergent. On the other hand Ireland is most closely bound of all to Great Britain by ties of commercial interest and by considerations of safety. Great stress is laid on the necessity for reinforcing these ties by Mr. W. S. Armour in his book " Ulster, Ireland, Britain : a Forgotten Trust ". I should like to feel that Mr. Armour was helpful, but cannot. He has persuaded himself that the whole trouble lies in a small ring of selfish vested interests in the north-eastern corner. I wish it were so ; but far wider spread are the consequences of a conquest which took the form of confiscation, and followed a theological division. The Protestant cottiers in Donegal have almost without exception the same attitude to Catholics as Protestant business men in Belfast. They regard themselves as Irishmen ; they regard these others as Irishmen of an inferior breed, morally and intellectually. It is about as reasonable as the German belief in their Aryan qualities and about as easy to reason with. But Mr. Armour should realize that he makes union difficult when he divides the " settlers " from the " true Irish nation ". This is what Mr. de Valera does when he affirms that the native speech of Irishmen is Gaelic, and distorts education to make Gaelic what it never was. Ulstermen will think many times before they entrust the regulation of their very extensive commerce to a parliament which is dominated by Mr. de Valera, in view merely of his commercial policy. But when they find Mr. de Valera adopting as a chief aim of the State what they regard as nonsense, and as distasteful nonsense, then prejudice is greatly increased.

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If there were room in these pages, how much I should like to

demonstrate by copious quotations the pleasure which is to be got from Mr. Hilaire Belloc's "Return to the Baltic". There is probably no other man writing in English whose mind is so curiously stored, for he combines immense reading and very wide travel with a faculty for visualizing countries in bulk that is most rare not only among readers but among travellers. Towns are as much living creations to him as trees; indeed more so, for I have met no trace in him of a botanist, and he is too skilled an essayist not to utilize all his interests. It seems almost an impertinence at this time of day to remark that in the technical craft of writing he has very few equals either in prose or in verse. Yet I have never seen it remarked that, though he has written some of the best poetry of our time, and continues to write it ever with increasing mastery, his prose keeps strictly to its own tradition; it has never the exuberance or the over-elaboration commonly found when a poet goes outside his own special medium. But it is none the less temperamental for that; it shifts in mood and tone like good talk; and Mr. Belloc in talk or in writing is not chary of self-assertion. He is what Dr. Johnson meant when he said he liked a good hater; and as for what he loves, from wine to poetry, we are left in no doubt. Dr. Johnson himself was not more dogmatic. Those who have had convictions which happen to disagree with Mr. Belloc's had better not read this book, unless, like Boswell, they positively enjoy being intellectually knocked down. As to the topical interest of a book dealing with regions which are only too likely to be much heard about, I should quote for instance the observations on Dantzig and the new port of Gdynia which has developed so rapidly—for a very simple seafaring reason of geography, which no writer before Mr. Belloc had ever brought to my notice. Still, that instance gives no idea of his range. The book has charming illustrations by Mr. E. L. Warre—one of which goes far to confute Mr. Belloc's opinion that the new Town Hall of Stockholm is an unpleasing piece of architecture. But then Mr. Belloc thinks little of modern architecture and misses few occasions for saying so. More power to him.

The Incomparable Belloc

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THE GOLDEN ROAD. An anthology of travel, selected and arranged by Arthur Stanley. *Dent.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

ATLANTIC CIRCLE, by Lord Moyne. *Blackie.* 18*s.*

A most versatile artist is Mr. Chiang Yee. Not only does he paint and draw exquisite pictures but he also composes poems in the Chinese manner and he writes a very charming book. His command of English may be judged from this passage, taken at random : ' The upper layer of the mist was very thin and of a greyish-green colour which turned into purple when it met the edge of the sunset '. It will be seen that he does not find it necessary to write in the humorously broken English of Yoshio Markino, from whom, I believe, it was demanded by his public even after he had lived here long enough to write and speak it very well. Mr. Chiang Yee is now as much at home in England as his friend Mr. S. I. Hsiung, the author of ' Lady Precious Stream ', who is a mighty solver of English crossword puzzles. This book discourses most pleasantly of many things, including Chinese crabs and a certain method of cooking them. The result, we are told, is indescribably perfect, for Li Li-Wen the great dramatist has written a book on food in which he says he can describe the beauty and flavour of any food except these fresh-water crabs. Another product of his native land that fills Mr. Chiang Yee with nostalgia is the beloved winter-plum blossom. Once in England he wrote two lines about it :

> Not a flower in all this sea-country
> is my choice,
> I only hope to have the winter-plum
> drift into my dreams.

He is so observant and so accurate that one regrets his remarks about Washington's statue in front of the National Gallery. ' They put his statue quite apart from others and made it rather smaller than the rest of them. That, I thought, was an indication that the English mind was not always broad enough.' Actually the statue was presented by America, and its site, looking over Trafalgar Square, is very honourable. It is interesting that Mr. Yee cannot endure the smell of mutton ; an English lady of my acquaintance, whose childhood was spent in China, once asked a Chinese whether we in the mass had not for them a disagreeable smell. ' Yes ', he said, ' you smell of mutton '. However, Mr. Yee appreciates not merely us but, more or less, our climate. You must read his

chapters on London fog, London in snow, winter in London and all his shrewd and amusing digressions. Also, if you happen to live in Cromwell Road you will discover, to your astonishment, that Mr. Yee considers it the second finest street in London.

The illustrations in Mr. Grant's book are superb. There is no other word for it. And the various essays by Mr. Grant are of great interest. One need not go all the way with him when he says that Mr. Gandhi knows 'that in the Indian religious philosophy there is more wisdom than in a millennium of John Locke and David Hume.' Gandhi, says Mr. Grant, wants to free India from the British, because he condemns the British attitude to life. But Mr. Grant admits that if British guidance and protection are removed India would fall a prey to some other nation. Gandhi's crusade on behalf of the millions of untouchables should have been praised by Mr. Grant, but he himself is weak on this point, endeavouring to excuse the barbarous treatment of the untouchables on the ground that their habits are unhygienic. Is he aware that the Chief Justice of Travancore is an untouchable, who until a couple of years ago was not permitted to enter the State temples? To say that 'few cottages in England can claim the same standard of order and tidiness as that which obtains within the humblest dwelling in the Indian jungle' is absurd. But I acknowledge that a floor composed of stamped-in cow-dung is rather hygienic.

To people of the plains it will seem extraordinary that it has been possible to compile an anthology of more than 650 pages on the ascent of mountains. How can such a collection, they will ask, avoid monotony? But to the devotees this treasure house of mountaineering 'shop' will obviously prove most fascinating. Among the contributors are Achille Ratti (Pope Pius XI.), C. E. Montague, Leslie Stephen, Freshfield, Goethe and A. D. Godley, who tells us of the mountain climbers:

> They will dine on mule and marmot,
> and of mutton made of goats,
> They will face the various horrors of
> Helvetian table d'hôtes . . .

The Golden Road is the kind of book it is good to read in bed or on one's travels. In both those circumstances it is pleasant to follow the journeys of other folk and here we have every possible sort of journey. Mr. Stanley provides 600 delightful pages for a mere 7*s.* 6*d.* Take one section alone, that which is entitled 'Visitors' Book'. Here we find an account of the Lord Mayor's Show written by a Pomeranian traveller in 1584; the garlanded fire-engines at the head of the procession flung water on the crowd to keep them back. A French *abbé* in 1737 tells of a friend who had an encounter with Turpin the highwayman on the road to Newmarket. The next day they met at the races, had a bet which Turpin lost and honourably paid, after which he expressed his sorrow that the trifling affair of the previous day did not permit them to drink together . . . This book can be recommended without the least reservation.

The trouble about Lord Moyne's book *Atlantic Circle* is that he excites our interest in many a place, so that we want to have an entire book about it. However, in some he lingers for quite a time. Thus his account of life among the Eskimos is full and most informative. The journey to Greenland and thence to Labrador fills a landsman

like myself with shudders. We have read elsewhere of the horrors of the negro King Henri Christophe of Haiti—one would like to know what Ludwig of Bavaria thought of his fantastic castle—but of the Bay Islands we have hitherto known nothing. This expedition was not merely a modern 'Grand Tour'; it had various scientific objects, each member of the party had his or her special interest and occupation, and the detailed examination of the material brought back is now being carried out by the staff of the British Museum (Natural History). The ordinary reader will be grateful for this interesting, unassuming account; Lord Moyne is evidently as imperturbable as the Englishman of Continental tradition, and equally imperturbable, with flickers of humour, is his style of writing.

H.B.

HISTORY OF THE FILM—Maurice Bardeche and Robert Brasillach. Translated and edited by Iris Barry. *George Allen & Unwin.* 18*s*.

In forty years the cinema has seen more changes than have the other arts in four hundred years. From the silent films of the Brothers Lumière, running less than a minute and showing workmen leaving a factory or a train entering a station, to the modern studio feature film with its sound, colour, trick effects, spectacle and running for over two hours, is a story of development which must rank as one of the most remarkable in history. Yet, in spite of its rich and curious history, the cinema is the least documented of the arts. Few serious accounts of its mushroom development have been written. No real attempt has been made to relate the film to its social background. Until the last three or four years no organized effort has been made to preserve representative films of different countries.

A book of this kind, therefore, which sets out to survey the whole field of cinematic development from its beginning, commands respect. The authors are French, and their description of the early days of the European film, especially in France and Sweden, is valuable. Much of this important stage in film history has not before been set down. We can now evaluate, perhaps for the first time, the true position of such pioneers—now almost forgotten—as Mélies, Zecca, Léonce Perret and Max Linder. The early developments of the American film are also well covered, although some of the authors' material seems to have come from existing books, and the whole course of film progress up till the War and just after is put in its proper perspective.

But all in this book is not serious. The sordid history of commercial cinema is enlivened by such a story as that of the news-reel producer during the Russo-Japanese War who forgot to disguise his backgrounds, with the result that an astonished audience watched the soldiers of the Mikado engaged in bloodthirsty battle with the troops of the Czar in front of the grandstand at Chantilly. Then there is the story of the Italian "Battle of the Beard" during the War, when temperamental Italian stars refused to wear beards, even when playing Attila and St. Paul. It is interesting, too, to read of the struggles between Edison, who had neglected to patent some of his inventions, and the independent American producers, who were served almost daily with writs.

When the authors leave facts, however, and embark on critical opinions they are not always so successful. They seem to find it difficult to appreciate a film in a language foreign to them. Their failure to estimate correctly the importance of the German output, especially such films as "Caligari" and "Kameradschaft", and their strange conclusions on some recent American films, are instances in point. They make also the common mistake of judging early films by present technical standards, instead of assessing them in relation to the time at which they were made.

Surprising, too, in so comprehensive a book, is the almost complete omission of any reference to the British film, either fictional or documentary. Paul was at work in England at the beginning of the century, and the English film industry before the War was as important as the American. There is no account of it in this book. The naïve prefatory note, which assumes that serious English filmgoers are familiar with the films of their own country, is hardly a satisfactory substitute. This omission is all the more extraordinary as the current English output is described in one sentence towards the end of the book as seriously rivalling the American film.

Miss Iris Barry's translation is so fluent and well-written that the reader has often to remind himself that the authors are French and not American. Her well-chosen illustrations, some of them rare, and the comprehensive indices add greatly to the book's value. Her editorial footnotes, however, are sometimes in direct contradiction to the authors' statements. She might perhaps have been wiser in some cases to have amended the text. There is surely little excuse for leaving an error in the text in order to correct it in a footnote. The three years which have elapsed between the French and American editions make this all the more desirable.

The authors conclude on a note of pessimism. They believe that the art of the film ended when sound began. "We who witnessed the birth of an art", they write, "may possibly also have seen it die". To which Miss Barry replies, "Technically the film has always been somewhat in advance of its ability to harness new technical resources to the expression of more penetrating, funnier, or more significant subject matter than it has utilized at any given moment. This has never been truer than at the moment of writing and, in consequence, there has never been more hope for the future".

There is perhaps more justification for the authors' view than for Miss Barry's. The host of revival programmes reflects decreased production. even in Hollywood. In this country fewer films are being made than before the passing of the Cinematograph Act. There are studios standing in Britain whose stages have not seen one single foot of film turned. Little of interest now comes from Europe. The changes in political power have hindered, not encouraged, the creative element in film-making. Only in France, the authors' own country, has production improved in quantity and quality. And this change has occurred since the book was written.

PAUL ROTHA.

LENIN, by Christopher Hollis. *Longmans.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Nearly all men, throughout their whole lives, are, strictly, lost: they do not know what they are doing or where they are going. All are lost—save the Men of Destiny. And of all men of destiny it would seem that Lenin was supreme, the man who for thirty years knew what was happening and what must be done, the man who declared that thus and thus and not otherwise must the course of events flow, that thus and thus and not otherwise must the action of his followers be, the man for whom all prophecies concerning Russia were fulfilled, leading him inevitably to the throne of the Romanovs. He seems a positive saint of action, so profoundly in touch with reality that he became identical with the historic process. Such has been my own view. Yet the student of Mr. Hollis' study may begin to feel a doubt about this. Was Lenin really a great man? Did he possess in himself those elements, had he that inner dynamite, which by inverse gravitation must have brought him inevitably to triumph? Or did he only possess a theory of historic inevitability which might easily have let him down completely? Mr. Hollis insists again and again that if only the Provisional Government had plumped for peace there would have been no Bolshevik Revolution, that the wisdom of Lenin depended upon the folly of Kerensky. In a sense this seems true, and Mr. Hollis portrays, as the data justifies, a Lenin who did not possess the *magic* which ordains ultimate triumph. Yet it might well be answered that Lenin had always been right and not only foresaw the War and its opportunity, but always realized that the course of events would necessitate a provisional government which would have a blunderer at its head who would be bound to do the wrong thing and thus open the gate to the leader of the Bolsheviks. To go as far as this is to go a long way; but I think we cannot refuse to go thus far.

It remains to be said that Mr. Hollis' volume, though it is not on a level with Marcu's study, since he fails to create the atmosphere in which we can feel the poetry of history and the mysticism of action, is far the best Life which has appeared in English. There is not one dull page nor one redundant sentence, while frequently the author sums matters up—such as Lenin on religion, or international revolution or party feuds or the death penalty or on how to wait—in the single lucid phrase which belongs to the comprehensive mind. There is one particularly attractive feature about his book—that he does not fall into the error of underrating Trotsky. On the contrary, he sees Trotsky correctly as the man who, if he was not in many ways greater than Lenin, was certainly the colossal personal force that made possible the final taking of power, the desperate holding of power against the Whites and the consolidation of power again afterwards. The failure to accept this heroic and extraordinary figure in its true proportions is apt to invalidate many biographies of Lenin. Since Mr. Hollis does not make this error we see Lenin all the clearer. We do not see him absolutely clearly, for there is something impersonal about Lenin, something lacking, which makes it difficult to grasp him with our imagination or even to take him quite seriously in his mildness, or in his cruelty, or in his glory. JOHN STEWART COLLIS.

ST. HELENA, 1502-1938, by Philip Gosse. *Cassell.* 15*s.*

This authoritative, readable and well-illustrated book is written with a light touch and good-humour which go far to disguise an implicit and damning indictment of British Colonial policy. Those nourished from youth on a legend of British genius in colonization should read this book. Without rancour, almost without intention, it manages to undermine that self-satisfaction which is itself perhaps the root of the trouble.

The story of St. Helena begins with its discovery in 1502 by the Portuguese, who used it thenceforward as a port of call on the route to the Cape, gradually abandoning it as Dutch and English intruders multiplied. It was still uninhabited when the English East India Company decided to establish a colony there in 1658, its potential value lying mainly in its convenience as a rendezvous for homeward-bound Indiamen awaiting convoy. The East India Company ruled the island " paternally and generously " from then until the Crown took it over in 1833. The small colony reached its peak of prosperity at the time of Napoleon's captivity on the island. It had then an exceptionally large garrison, and the settlement's decline dates from the withdrawal of the troops in 1821.

If the sad state of St. Helena during the last century is due, in part, to the abandonment of the Cape route to India, it is at least as much due to consistent neglect. What must chiefly appal the reader of this book is not the procession of decrepit warriors sent out to administer the island so much as the fatal fidelity with which all the worst, and few of the best, features of England have been reproduced there. In a splendid climate, where almost anything will grow, and where the small holder could flourish as in few other places on earth, all the best land is owned by two proprietors. Driven from the soil, a part of the population finds employment in a flax industry, but at such miserably low wages that the export " benefits but three or four of the big landowners ". With growing indignation, one may read in this book of a hopeless lack of enterprise both in agriculture and industry, of slum conditions, of a shipping monopoly, and of the absence even of the kind of legislation which mitigates some of the evils of English industrialism. Mr. Gosse ends this excellent book on a note of hope but confesses that among the worst evils are Customs duties introduced as recently as 1936 with the apparent object of keeping the poor islanders in a state of semi-starvation. It is well that we should be reminded that one of our oldest colonies relies for much of its revenue on selling its postage-stamps to the world's philatelists.

C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON

AMERICA, by Franz Kafka. *Routledge* 8*s.* 6*d.*

PILGRIMAGE. 4 vols. By Dorothy M. Richardson. *Dent-Cresset Press.* 30*s.*

The eccentric novelists are a special taste ; there are probably people who cannot read *Tristram Shandy.* Franz Kafka presents the difficulty of an obsessed mind, a persecution mania which at once excites and leadens his narrative ; his humour is the irony of the mad house. His work recalls the story of the mad lady who thought she had a cat inside of her. To cure

her the doctor told her he was going to operate and remove the cat. Afterwards, when she came round from the anæsthetic, and was told that the operation was successful, she replied, "Yes, but the cat had kittens and you haven't removed them". All Kafka's cats have kittens. There is no end to any of his novels, for there is no end to the dull ache of life.

But if he was a neurotic he was able brilliantly to externalize his tunnellings away from daylight in universal terms. Kafka's two major fantasies *The Castle* and *The Trial* were the product of his bad relationship with his father which drove his life underground and his talent into a dream world all the more haunted for being described naively, and with the literalness of Defoe, dealing with Mrs. Veal. The father of Kafka was a strong, healthy man who seems to have despised his sickly son and to have kept himself contemptuously aloof. The suffering of the son was doubled; he reproached his father with a dumb injustice, he reproached himself with a baffled and gnawing guilt. To relieve him came those brief moments of pathetic and ecstatic hope and dog-like expectation which one sees in *The Castle*, and after that the return of the frustrations of anxiety, the consolation of innocence and a gentle stoicism. Between man and his ultimate desire lies a maze of misunderstanding which, in Kafka's works, is represented by those elaborate and wilfully obstructive bureaucracies that his comic spirit loved to create. His sensibility has, indeed, a command of irresponsible comedy and farce and one meets, in his books, the disconnected absurdities, long-winded and ironical explanations, which occur in one's dreams.

America is an altogether gayer, fresher and more innocent book than the others. It is a kind of *Emil and the Detectives*. Kafka had never been in the United States, but he imagined it perfectly to his purpose to show the adventures of an innocent emigrant youth who is despatched there by his parents because he has been seduced by a housemaid. There are echoes of old themes in the fantastic uncle who buys him everything he wants as in a child's book and then (as in childhood but *not* in children's books) suddenly disowns him on a quibble which is majestically called a principle. Robinson and Delamarche, the drunken sinister couple, play fast and loose with the boy, like insatiable yet half remorseful tempters. The father crops up again in the implacable Head Waiter. Throughout rings clearly the serious treble of the boy's voice. How close Kafka has come to the seriousness, the innocent calculation and vulnerable candour of the growing mind! The down-trodden or dominated, when the spark of life still burns in them, become legalistic in mind; and all the comedy in this book springs from the top-heavy arguments which are applied to ridiculous situations. Karl's sense of career, as a lift boy is a perfect form of observation. The weakness of Kafka is that he is always working up for a climax which has to be indefinitely postponed and, sooner or later, rather than face it, he runs to earth. Perhaps this is a testimony to his fidelity to his own vision of life; but with all his individuality and genial sensibility, Kafka is a writer who leaves a blank cheque and goes off when you discuss his meaning. The cheque is signed with his extraordinary and peculiar signature,

but the cheques of greatness in literatures are filled in as well.

The story of Miriam that harried soul who began so freshly and courageously in *Pointed Roofs* and who has completely disintegrated into a mesh of nerves in *Dimple Hill*, can now be had complete in 4 vols. Miss Dorothy Richardson, as the earliest English inventor of "the stream of consciousness", has the austere awkwardness, the unbelievable air of the pioneer who has lived to see a town spring up round his log cabin. I think there can be no doubt that the earlier volumes are more readable and interesting. As one of the eccentric writers she has her niche, though those who have learned from her have surpassed her as novelists and writers of prose. From the first chapter there is no doubt about her quality, in fact even now, it seems to me, no one has really turned to her kind of material, whatever may have been taken from her method. The shabby, hard-pressed England has never been properly done, except comically, in the way writers always write of the class from which they have escaped. The other women novelists have always had the elegance of the upper middle class ; the middle class inelegance, more crushing to its women than its men, has never been interpreted from inside with any talent. V. S. PRITCHETT.

HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT : Register of the Ministers and of the Members of both Houses, 1439—1509. *H.M. Stationery Office.* £2.

Colonel Wedgwood and the unofficial Committee of both Houses who are responsible for the new History of Parliament are much to be congratulated on the second volume. It is a fine piece of research and it makes clear the general plan of the work. For each period the editor will produce three volumes—one of biographies of all the members of the House of Commons another forming a register of the successive Parliaments and the third a commentary on the growth of Parliament in the period. When a year ago Colonel Wedgwood published, as the first instalment, the biographies of all known members between 1439 and 1509, the book, not unnaturally, had a somewhat chilly reception. Most of these personages were of no consequence, and the work done on them seemed excessive. But this second instalment is obviously of very great interest and importance, especially as it relates to a critical and obscure period, and Colonel Wedgwood's long and able introduction, filling about 150 pages out of the 900 pages in the book, is illuminating.

We are first given details of the thirty Parliaments summoned in the seventy years. For each we have lists of the peers and commoners who were summoned or returned, so far as they can be traced, with a compact account of what the Parliament did. The second part of the volume gives under each county and borough an alphabetical list of all the members returned for each constituency, so far as they are known. Colonel Wedgwood says that his staff have traced about 2,600 members, or perhaps 60 per cent. of the total ; a third of these were previously unknown, but their names, missing from the Parliament rolls, have been recovered from various State and local sources. Thus in this Register we have the Parliamentary background of that revolutionary age in which Lancaster and York strove with one another and gave place in the end to the Tudor despotism.

The Parliamentary lists thus authentically presented throw much new light on the actual composition of the Houses and on other matters. Colonel Wedgwood has no difficulty in showing that the peerage lawyer's theory that a writ of summons to the Upper House conferred an hereditary right to a peerage is wholly unhistorical. In the fifteenth century men might be summoned once or twice but never again; and there are numerous cases of attendance without a writ of summons. The hereditary peerage was in truth slowly established by a custom that was not fixed in this period. George Neville, created Duke of Bedford in 1470, not only failed to receive a summons to the 1478 Parliament but was deprived by special Act of his dukedom, on the ground of his poverty, and died a commoner. The presence of judges and eminent lawyers in the Upper House is further elucidated. Attention is drawn to the case of the King's Attorney, William Nottingham, who was summoned to the Upper House in 1453 but preferred to take his seat in the Lower House as a member for Gloucestershire. It illustrates, as the editor says, the growing tendency of the King's servants to obtain seats in the Commons. Colonel Wedgwood's analyses bring out very clearly the power of the landowners and the Church over the constituencies and the increasing tendency of "carpet-beggars" to secure seats with which they had no local connection, despite the rule that members must reside in their constituencies—a rule still maintained for the United States House of Representatives. But the influx of officials was of the greatest importance. To it, as the writer says,

> "we owe both the predominance of Parliament under Tudor autocracy and that union of the executive with the legislature which gives to our form of democracy its undoubted superiority over the constitutions of the other free countries."

EDWARD G. HAWKE.

THE ARAB AWAKENING, by George Antonius. *Hamish Hamilton.* 15*s.*

FULFILMENT IN THE PROMISED LAND, 1917—1937, by Norman Bentwich. *The Soncino Press.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

In the course of the last twenty years there has poured forth from the English Press a continuous stream of publications dealing with the problems of the Jews and Arabs and Palestine. Some of these publications have taken their places as classic works on their subject; others—and these are in the majority—have little to recommend them either as serious contributions or as literature. Mr. Antonius's *The Arab Awakening* belongs to the first category.

In a lucidly written and well-documented book, the author, an Arab of Lebanese extraction who completed his education in England, traces the history of the Arab national movement from its inception, almost a hundred years ago, to the present day. The Movement first saw light of day in Syria, which was at that period part of the Arabian dominions of the Ottoman Sultans, in 1847, when the Society of Arts and Sciences was founded in Beirut. The Arabic scholars Yazeji and Boustani were the spearheads of the movement which in the beginning placed chief among its aims the renaissance of the Arab literature and learning. Two American missionaries, Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyke, rendered valuable assistance in this field. Though these cultural societies did not enjoy a long life they

effectively sowed the seeds of an Arab nationalism which was to play an important part in the coming years.

Mr. Antonius writes with vividness of the early struggles of the Nationalists against the Turks ; carried on for the most part through secret societies where an elaborate system of passwords and signs was employed.

The author criticizes, and with strong moral justification, the cynical attitude of the Allies after the War towards the Arabs. He cites the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 when an understanding was arrived at between Britain, France and Russia for the dividing up into zones of influence of parts of Turkey and the Arab countries. This pact was kept secret from the Sharif Hussein who, as a result of promises of independence, had placed himself and his people at the disposal of the Allies. The text of this agreement was afterwards made public by the Bolshevists on their rise to power.

The book contains a set of hitherto unpublished documents which are of the first importance to students of this problem. It is a pity, however, that a writer and historian of the calibre of Mr. Antonius should quote the Mac-Mahon—Hussein correpondence (which is given in full in the appendix) in support of the theory that Palestine was included in the territories promised to the Arabs in the light of Sir Henry McMahon's letter to *The Times* in 1937, in which he denied that Palestine was included in the promises.

Professor Bentwich, who from 1922 to 1931 was Attorney-General of Palestine states in the foreword to his book that he has " been concerned mainly with the development of the [JewishNational] Home in its economic, social and cultural aspects, as 'a workshop of humanity,' and not with the politica and administrative background ".

The book is a record of twenty years of construction and rebuilding in the Holy Land. Although naturally a staunch Zionist, Mr. Bentwich does not hesitate to criticize where he feels it necessary, particularly in regard to the Arab policy sometimes pursued by the Zionist leaders. But perhaps the most interesting part of this book is in the chapter which deals with questions of morality and religion in the new Palestine. It has long been a complaint of Orthodox Jewry that the present generation of Jews in Palestine is, if not atheistic in outlook, at least indifferent to the Jewish religion and morality. The oft-made charge that the young colonists do not marry, and practise community of women and community of children, is dismissed by the author.

It is broadly true to say that the young generation tend to react against the ordering of life according to the minute Rabbinical code which was practised in the Ghettos of Central and Eastern Europe. A living Judaism is growing up in the Holy Land and driving fresh sap from its wholesome contact with the soil.

Mr. Bentwich shows a sympathetic handling of a subject which is dotted with snags and pitfalls.

H. M. NAHMAD.

THE SPANISH ARENA, by William Foss and Cecil Gerahty. *Gifford.* 18*s.*

This is not a book but a concoction. The recipe would seem to be : ' collect every allegation ever made against " Red " Spain or its Liberal procreators, attributing all things objectionable to the nefarious workings of " Soviet

democracy", add quantities of spice from a store of *facts* about Spanish life and conditions, mix thoroughly and serve with a pungent seasoning of atrocity-stories'. In such an *olla podrida* there is bound to be something worth retaining as, for instance, some of the information about the actual land-holding system in Spain—as compared with the distorted picture presented by Left propagandists—and the statement that during the summer of 1936—before the rebellion—the majority of the Army units had been deprived of the stocks of arms normally under their care, the arms being concentrated at special mobilization centres controlled directly by the Ministry of War. But by its very extremism of tone and substance this tale of the Glorious Crusade of "National" Spain surely defeats its own purpose. It will really only cut any ice with those who have already convinced themselves that the national being of Spain, of Great Britain, France and every other principal country is threatened by "a vast Communist plot, inspired and controlled by Continental Freemasons, largely Jewish andI nternational agitators" (p. 429). Quite apart from this quaint premiss, rarely has the present reviewer, who can claim to have some knowledge of Spain, come across such a farrago of wild statements introduced by tags such as "it was commonly stated . . ." It is perhaps unfair to complain about inaccuracies of detail; but really the authors ought to know better than to describe Julius Deutsch, the well-known Austrian Social Democrat leader, as a Swiss or F. B. Deakin, who was Press Attaché at His Majesty's Embassy in Madrid in the twenties as "an English working man".' W.H.C.

PYRENEAN, by J. B. Morton. *Longmans.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

CANOE ERRANT ON THE MISSISSIPPI by Major R. Raven-Hart. *Methuen.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

LISTEN! THE WIND, by Anne Morrow Lindbergh. *Chatto and Windus.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

These three writers have the true spirit of adventure and are ready to welcome hardship. They have in common, also, the virtues of good narrative and description, so that each makes the most of his or her opportunity. They all appeal to the vagrant mood, though not every reader will wish to leave his arm-chair to follow their bold example.

Mr. Morton—some years ago, before the present troublous times—journeyed on foot "from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic" by way of the Pyrenees. Starting from Roussillon he wandered, more or less by map, over passes and through valleys, sometimes crossing the frontier but mostly in Spain, always resisting the temptation to dally. He eats and drinks prodigiously and talks pugnaciously with all and sundry. He hates modern developments and glories in primitive survivals. His thoughts are with the past: here is the essential Morton:—

> "Here, by the upper waters of the Gallego, I stopped and gazed ahead at the gigantic rocks, and at huge Balaitous and the Peak of Hell, and all the little torrents that came pouring down to water high Aragon, and slake the thirst of the cattle in the upland pastures. . . . And the landscape itself seemed to be a monument of all the battles of the years of the re-conquest. . . . The very mountains were gashed stone, and presented an eternal symbol of the tortured hardness of the people. . . ."

Major Raven-Hart voyaged down the Mississippi from Hannibal to Baton Rouge, over a thousand miles, in a portable rubber canoe, with a boy

companion. They avoided civilization, except for replenishing their stores, and for preference pitched their tent on sandbanks in the river. The general impression is one of a wide expanse of water, rather featureless, but there is ample compensation in the memories of Mark Twain, which are recalled almost every mile of the way. For anyone whose youthful reading included "Huckleberry Finn" and "Life on the Mississippi" there can be no more romantic river. "We slid into the river and had a swim, so as to freshen up and cool off; then we set down and watched the daylight come. Not a sound anywhere—perfectly still—just like the whole world was asleep, only sometimes the bullfrogs a-cluttering, maybe." In boyhood we accepted our Mark Twain uncritically: now we recognize the magic of his touch.

"Our flight," writes Colonel Lindbergh in his Foreword to his wife's remarkable book "lasted for nearly six months. This book covers only ten days of that time. It is about a period in aviation which is now gone, but which was probably more interesting than any the future will bring. As time passes, the perfection of machinery tends to insulate man from contact with the elements in which he lives." This book stands as a milestone in flying history. We experience the difficulties and delays besetting the airman whose problem is to "take off" from the African coast on a "hop" across the Atlantic to Natal. The wind, which has helped the plane so far on its flight half way round the world, now (in the exposed harbour of Santiago) makes the sea too choppy, and later, at Bathurst, by failing to blow, offers insufficient resistance, so that the plane refuses to rise from the water. As presented in Mrs. Lindbergh's vivid narrative, these trials put us in a proper frame of mind to appreciate the actual flight which, because it was perfectly performed, seems entirely effortless. But not without its thrills:

> "I looked up from the radio again. What were we doing now? We were going down. My husband was pointing at something straight ahead. Yes—there was another ship, this time right on our course, a freighter, steaming along slowly, pulling a white wake behind. We were fast catching up to her, now diving down, down, down. . . . Now on top of her, the masts and smokestack came up to meet us. . . . The blue star on her funnel, the decks, the cargo, someone waving, we could see. . . . Up, up, up, we were climbing back into our own world, our own time. . . ."

An exhilarating book, which could only have been written by a woman who is as plucky as she is sensitive to life in all its guises.

GARFIELD HOWE.

MISCELLANEA.

GUNS OR BUTTER, by R. H. Bruce Lockhart. *Putnam*. 10*s*. 6*d*.

"Guns will make us powerful, butter will only make us fat". This jaunty affirmation of Field Marshal Goering (who is probably as good a judge of food as he is of arms) serves as a convenient spool around which Mr. Bruce Lockhart winds his traveller's tale of his old haunts in Central and South-eastern Europe. Having broken loose from Fleet Street the one-time British Agent takes the opportunity of a lecture tour under the auspices of the British Council to revisit his beloved Yugoslavia—and then Holland and the Scandinavian countries. The journey

whets his appetite, and he returns to the Balkans and Central Europe to roam, in his own way and time, but with the idea of making a book of his reflections on the changes he notices after ten years.

It is an obvious publishing gambit. But in the result how different from the spontaneous life-history and record of experience of his earlier books! There is the same light-hearted and unaffected gaiety mixed with typical Scottish earnestness, but the political comment is trite and superficial, and the humours of life on the fringe of diplomacy and high finance have somehow gone stale. Gossipy politics—in these post-Gunther days—is a tricky business. Mr. Lockhart just doesn't happen to have the crispness of mind and expression, which was the secret of the success of, for example, *Insanity Fair*.

OUTSIDE BRITAIN, by Dower and Riddell. *Heinemann.* 5*s*.

Judging from the number of people one meets who have read it, *Outside Britain* was just the book for Christmas and since "that awful axis" remains more or less where it did, it is just the book for the New Year. Messrs. Dower and Riddell have hit the right note for Britons, weary of a state of crisis, and one sees no reason to doubt that this volume will join their previous book "in every best spare bedroom". Dower and Riddell divide the nations of the world into six groups: 1. Britain; 2. The Buffer States; 3. The Rougher States; 4. A Bluffer State; 5. The Suffer States; 6. The Duffer States, and they proceed to give us by text and illustration a very fair summary of "this grave new world". "Hi! Hitler! That's Austria that was!", says the double-headed eagle on the frontispiece and it seems all too true that "The Rougher (or Huffer and Puffer) States constitute the big bad wolves of the world", and that in rough order they are: 1. Italy—who has done it; 2. Japan—who is doing it; and 3. Germany—who will do it again at any moment now". Like all good nonsense *Outside Britain* has a core of truth.

LAUGHING DIPLOMAT, by Daniele Varè. *Murray.* 16*s*.

This is definitely the lighter side of international intercourse. Signor Varè has had such varied posts as Vienna, Peking, Geneva (League Secretariat) 1920-23, and Copenhagen. He is married to a Scotswoman, writes English extremely well and has a fund of amusing stories. Yet somehow the time is out of joint for such chitter-chatter, one

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feels, and one could wish that a person so talented would set himself down to the serious business of studying the aspirations of the new Italy in the context of the wider world which he, at any rate, if not many others among leading Italians, knows. There is a great deal about Italian policy to-day which needs explaining away.

TRY ANYTHING TWICE, by Jan Struther. *Chatto & Windus.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Jan Struther deserves to be tried many times, and her first collected essays will be welcomed by a very large audience. It is a pity, we think, that she should have excluded a selection of her verses for they are as charming and as piquant as her delightful prose. But we must not grumble. *Try Anything Twice* has all the ingredients which encourage a second helping and to give all those unacquainted with her work a hearty appetite. There is no need to attempt to pick out from this feast of good things the better and the best; all are excellent and if such essays as "A Noisy Noise . . .", "Half-Term", "To a Passionate Poker-Play . . .",and "Ogle-Pogles" appeal especially to us, it is because the subject-matter proves peculiar to our taste.

TWO LIVES CONVERGE: the dual autobiography of Sybil and Glorney Bolton. *Blackie.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Both Mr. and Mrs. Bolton have a pleasant tale to tell and both bring to their narratives a keen appreciation of the world around them. Both can write. Both have enjoyed adventures, yet it is difficult to agree that the plan of this book does either of them justice. The idea of writing alternate chapters, so that the authors remain at a similar age until their lives converge, was novel and superficially a good one. In practice, one grows rather tired of this constant switchback, and more than one reader will wish to cheat, reading the Sybil chapters first, and the Glorney chapters later. Mr. Bolton is particularly happy when describing his early Oxford days at the Bodleian, and his first impressions of Leeds, when he joined the staff of *The Yorkshire Post*; Mrs. Bolton gives us an excellent chapter on her boarding-school in war time and sustains her story well with a wealth of detail. That their two lives did eventually converge was remarkable. They met, first, in Canada for afternoon tea, when Mr. Bolton was waiting to fly back to England in the R. 100. Having forgotten each other, they were introduced again, some time later, in London.

THE PORT OF LONDON MURDERS, by Josephine Bell. *Longmans.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Perhaps Mr. Howard Spring, who recently expressed in the *Evening Standard* his disapproval of most detective fiction, does not know the work of Josephine Bell. If he does and if he still disapproves, we would advise Mr. Spring to keep away from Wapping, for in Wapping anything may and does happen, and what happens and how it happens is known to Miss Bell. Miss Bell, according to the dust-jacket, has already won her spurs in the field of detective fiction, and such knights of criticism as Humbert Wolfe and Torquemada have praised her lavishly. With such praise we are in entire agreement. Ignorant of her work and "Springish" in our attitude towards stories of this kind we spent, nevertheless, an entirely satisfying evening with this book.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

For the benefit of our many overseas readers we provide here each month a brief sketch by way of introduction of our contributors to THE FORTNIGHTLY *public.*

If the monthly review is commonly regarded as a lost cause, it is surprising nevertheless, how many people still do in practice look to THE FORTNIGHTLY and its fellow-periodicals for just that little extra amount of substance which is lacking in the newspaper field. It is not a matter of length or of subject. The distinctiveness which is to be observed is compounded, rather, of elements of spontaneity and care, for which the conditions of writing for the Press to-day leave no room.

Yet, it is true enough, in the hustle and bustle of our urban life many of us—even those who read the reviews—do heed the factor of length in an article, and crispness and incisiveness of statement are a *sine qua non* of good writing. THE FORTNIGHTLY has, therefore, decided to include among the usual dozen or so articles of the traditional, leisured character a number of shorter topical contributions. Each month the searchlight will be played on such issues of public interest as have been, so to speak, the talk of the town.

The " Searchlight " section this month opens with an article portraying the situation of the country, Poland, which is most likely—after Spain—to occupy our attention during 1939. **Stefan Litauer** whom we asked to set forth Poland's problems has acquired fame among the wider public by the fact of his being Chairman of the recent dinner celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Foreign Press Association in London at which Mr. Chamberlain made his notable speech. He has been President of the Association, in fact, for the past three years. A former official in the Foreign Ministry of his country—where he was Deputy Chief of the Press Department—he came to London nine years ago, and has continued to serve the P A T Polish Telegraphic Agency, the semi-official news agency of Poland.

Stefan Litauer illuminates for us some of the dark corners of this complex problem of Ukraine which is now looming upon us. **Henry Baerlein,** an old contributor, accustomed to roam with fancy free in strange lands, lifts the veil over another corner—the small mountain community of the Ruthenes in the easternmost part of Czechoslovakia. Here is the necessary background for what is commonly expected to be the next move of a restless Germany. Henry Baerlein's latest book *In Czechoslovakia's Hinterland*, published in October last, offers a most useful and pleasant introduction to Ruthenia.

In the home field the farmers' discontent and the Spens report on secondary education are, undoubtedly, the topics that command attention. **S. L. Bensusan,** an old friend of THE FORTNIGHTLY—in the days of W. L. Courtney—explains the currents and

under-currents of excitement in East Anglia, defining and embroidering the general terms in which Great Britain's agricultural problem was presented by C. S. Orwin, last October.

The name of S. L. Bensusan is well-known to all readers of the Press. He was for many years a regular correspondent on agricultural topics in *The New Statesman*—and also in the *Morning Post*. A journalist with a remarkable record of versatility, he was for a short time after the War adviser to the Publications Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture—and has now lived in Essex for some years, as observer of the rural scene. **L. W. Clarke,** who writes on the essential theme underlying the Spens Report—is one of the younger generation of schoolmasters who reject the idea that the public schools should claim a monopoly of *education*, in the true sense of the term. For some years he has practised at a Middlesex Secondary school the ideas for which the Spens Report now supplies the precept.

Among the full-length articles there is the usual quota of individual contributions on foreign affairs; but there are also a number of special articles calculated to interest the many who do not wish to lose sight of other fundamental issues. **Lord Horder,** well-known as Physician-in-Ordinary to King George V, has touched life at so many points in his full and distinguished career that it baffles description. But it is certainly encouraging to find that such a man is concerned as much with considerations of man's spiritual health as of his bodily welfare.

Sir George Gillett, to whom we give first place, is another great public servant ministering to the needs of a sick community. He has had a notable record in Local Government Service under the L.C.C.—and, after serving in 1931 as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, was appointed, following Mr. Malcolm Stewart, to the thankless but exceedingly important office of Commissioner for the Special Areas (England and Wales). He is a member of the National Labour Party.

Ronald Cartland, M.P., whom we welcome again to our pages, is one of the younger Conservatives, with Central Office experience, who is gravely concerned at the stick-in-the-mud figure which this country is cutting to-day, as compared with certain other countries. He suggests that, whatever may be the outcome of the present political ferment, one indispensable and urgent task is the thorough overhaul of the machinery of governance. We arel ikely to hear a good deal of this in the forthcoming Parliamentary session.

The only other domestic material is the article by **Hugh Ross Williamson,** formerly editor of *The Bookman* and something of a playwright, who presents a stimulating and somewhat heretical view of the Labour Party.

Herbert Bailey, Managing Editor of the British United Press, and **Dr. Cecil Roth,** an eminent historian and recognized authority on his subject, portray two important facets of the problem of Italy that is much in our minds.

THE FORTNIGHTLY BAZAAR

An Irish Association has been formed under the presidency of Viscount Charlemont, who, until recently, was Minister for Education for Northern Ireland. The objects of the Association are to promote co-operation and mutual goodwill between all sections of the Irish community, and Mr. De Valera has welcomed it with these words, " I need only say that every effort made to promote a better understanding and to bridge difficulties between Irishmen will be welcomed by us ". The Association " is not concerned with political or constitutional problems : its task is to make reason and goodwill take the place of passion and prejudice in determining the character of the relationships between northern and southern Ireland, no less than between each part of Ireland and Great Britain ". The Association includes amongst its aims the hope that it will " encourage respect for the honest convictions of others ", and it is to study " business and commercial relations with a view to discovering the best means of reconciling the economic interests of North and South ". General Sir Hubert Gough, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., Major-General Sir George Franks, K.C.B., Senator Frank MacDermot, and John J. Horgan are the Vice-Presidents of the Association, while Miss Mary McNeill, 22 Mount Charles, Belfast, and Mr. W. A. Beers, 16/17, Lr. O'Connell Street, Dublin, are acting as Hon. Secretaries. Major-General Hugh Montgomery, C.B., C.M.G., D.L., is Hon. Treasurer.

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On Monday, February 6 at 8.15 p.m., in the Great Hall, University College, Gower Street, W.C.1, a public meeting will be held to launch a National Appeal for Funds for the work being done on behalf of Academic Refugees. The meeting is being organized by the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, and the speakers will be Sir Samuel Hoare, the Marquess of Reading and Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of York. The Society for the Protection of Science and Learning has completed five years of useful life. Its headquarters are at 6, Gordon Square, W.C.1., and it is now making a special appeal for funds to enable it to prepare long-range plans for scholar exiles. The Society itself has arranged a week of meetings early this term to take place in the great majority of British academic centres, with a view to spreading information and enthusiasm concerning the plight and prospects of academic refugees.

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In the January issue of *Occupational Psychology* published by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, there is an interesting account of the

development of industrial psychology in Spain from 1915 until its interruption by the present Civil War. The author of the article is Dr. Alexandre Chleusebairgue who was formerly attached to the Psychotechnical Institute of Barcelona. In the same issue Mr. Alec Rodger, Head of the Vocational Guidance Department of the National Institute, outlines an interesting new scheme for the formation of a vocational guidance centre. Mr. J. G. W. Davies discusses the place of interest in vocational adjustment.

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The League of National Life are supporting the suggestion that marriage loans should be introduced into this country, especially as they have already proved fairly successful in Continental countries. The objects of marriage loans are to raise the marriage rate, to raise the birth rate and to encourage settlement on the land. In Germany since marriage loans were introduced in 1933, the birth rate has shown an increase of 24%, the loan being reduced by one quarter at the birth of each surviving child.